

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Late Conspiracy
AGAINST THE
KING
AND THE
NATION.

With a Particular Account of the
LANCASHIRE PLOT,

AND

All the other Attempts and Ma-
chinations of the disaffected Party,
since His Majesty's Accession to the
Throne.

Extracted out of the Original Informati-
ons of the Witnesses, and other Au-
thentick Papers.

L O N D O N,

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MDC XCVI.

By 53.17

I

THE
HISTORY
Of the Late
Conspiracy, &c.

SINCE the late Conspiracy in this Kingdom, has been for some time the Principal Object of the Curiosity of the Public, and since it may furnish us with so great a Variety of Important Instructions; 'tis presum'd the History of it will be equally useful and acceptable to the present Age and to Posterity.

Here future Ages may behold a King, variously Censur'd and Represented by the several Parties of Mankind;
B kind;

The People of
England
thank'd His Ma-
jestty, by their
Representa-
tives, for their
Great and Mi-
raculous De-
liverance from
Popery and
Arbitrary
Power, of
which he was
the Instru-
ment. See the
Parliament's
Address, May
18. 1689. The
Parliament of
Scotland
thank'd him al-
so for their De-
liverance and
Preservation, of
which they ac-
knowledg'd him
next to God, to
be the great and
only Instrument.
See the Answer
of the Conven-
tion to His Ma-
jestty's Letter, in
1689.

kind ; lov'd by some, hated by others,
 but esteem'd by all, tho' in so different
 a manner, that some Conspire his
 Death for the same Reasons that pre-
 vail'd with others to offer him a
 Crown: A Prince to whom his
 Subjects own themselves indebted
 for Immortal Obligations, and whom
 his Enemies for that very Reason
 accuse as the Author of all their
 Misfortunes: Advanc'd by the Gra-
 titude of the one, render'd Illustri-
 ous by the Hatred of the others ;
 endu'd with a Generous Modera-
 tion, that raises him above his For-
 tune, and makes him the absolute
 Master of his Passions.

Here the Reader will find Gentle-
 men and Officers dishonoring their
 Birth and Character by acting the
 unmanly part of Murderers ; a bar-
 barous Assassination carry'd on un-
 der the specious pretext of a Mili-
 tary Expedition ; a handful of Trai-
 tors contriving the ruin of the
 public Liberty, and ready by one
 terrible Blow to execute their per-
 nicious Design ; a Secret that had
 been exactly conceal'd for Six Years,
 discover'd by Four Men in Six Days ;
 The

Late Conspiracy.

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The King not only assisted by Providence, but establish'd by the treacherous Malice of his Enemies, endeared to his Subjects by the Greatness of the Common Danger, and receiving new Assurances of their Affection and Fidelity; *England* once more deliver'd; The Prince and the People inseparably united by mutual Obligations, and more than ever in a condition to procure and maintain the Peace and Happiness of *Europe*.

This is a general View of what the Reader may expect to meet with in the following Relation. I have mark'd every particular step of a Transaction, which is too important to be forgotten, tho it can never be remember'd without Horror. And that the Progress and Management of the Design might appear in a clearer Light; I have trac'd it from its dark Original, and have given a succinct Account of the several Projects and Attempts that preceded, or made way for the Conspiracy.

I have taken care to furnish myself with such Instructions as might enable me to compose an exact Hi-

story. I have endeavor'd to write without Heat and Partiality ; nor was there any need of aggravating a Crime that is so black in its own nature , and so apt to possess the calmest Mind with a Just Abhorrence and Indignation. But, above all, I have been scrupulously careful to mention nothing but what is grounded upon Authentic Testimonies.

To give the Reader a just Idea of the Conspiracy, 'twou'd be necessary in the First place to acquaint him with the importance of his Majesty's Life ; if it were not unreasonable to suppose that any Person can be so much a stranger to the Transactions of the Age he lives in, as to be ignorant of the interest which the Nations of *Europe* have in the preservation of that Sacred Life. 'Twas on him that *Spain* founded the first hopes she had the courage to entertain, of seeing a happy turn of her declining Fortune. 'Tis to him, next to the blessing of Heaven, that the *Dutch* owe the safety of their State, and the *English* their Laws, Religion and Liberty. The Former entrusted him with the management of all their concerns, and

and the Latter made him their Sovereign to secure their own Happiness, and to prevent a return of those Miseries from which he had deliver'd 'em. The Allies, in general, combin'd together to erect a kind of Empire for him in the present Confederacy; being sensible that they cou'd not defend themselves without his Assistance, and that they might, without any Jealousy or Apprehension, rely upon his Integrity and Vertue. And, which is yet a brighter and more surprizing part of his Character, 'tis certain that none of all these Honors which he enjoys, cost him the trouble of Asking. The great and important Services, which the World had either receiv'd, or might expect to receive from him, were the only Solicitations he us'd to obtain these glorious advantages. This is the only Circumstance of his Life, which shall be particularly consider'd in this place, because 'tis This that will contribute most to give light to the following History, and This alone which Malice or Envy durst ever presume to contradict.

History of the
Revolutions
in England.
Book II. pag.
437.

It never enter'd into the Thoughts of any considering Person, says a late Writer, that the Prince of Orange was so fond of the English Nation, as to undertake the security of their Liberties, at the expence of so much Treasure, and so many Fatigues, instead of destroying 'em, as he ought to have done, being the next Heir to the Crown, after the Prince of Wales.

See the Preface.
to the Third
Volume of the Hi-
story of the Re-
volutions in
England.

I cannot forbear observing on this occasion, that this Author, though chosen as the fittest Person to write a History of the Revolutions in England, according to the Instructions; and, as it appears, by the Orders of his Party, was, at least in this case, a perfect Stranger, both to the Affairs and Temper of that Monarch. For, 'tis certain that his Majesty, in so pressing a Juncture, cou'd not forget England, without neglecting his own Interest, and that of the Princess his Consort, and without consenting to the irrecoverable Ruine of Holland, of the Protestant Religion in general, and of all the Princes and States in Europe, both Protestants and Roman-Catholics, who were

were equally threatn'd with unavoidable destruction. And besides it will appear that the Author of that History was less acquainted with his Majesty's Temper, than with his Interest and Affairs.

When that generous Prince was plac'd at the Head of a potent Republic in the heat of his youth; and when at the importunate solicitations of all the Members of that great Body, he was advanc'd to such a degree of Power and Grandeur as might have enabl'd him to execute whatever his Ambition cou'd have prompted him to undertake; 'tis known, that he made no other use of so inviting an opportunity, than to settle a good correspondence betwixt the Magistrates and the People. 'Tis known that he refus'd the Sovereignty of *Guelderland*, which was offer'd to him, because he wou'd not confirm the jealousy of some Persons who seem'd to dread the consequences of such an Innovation. And even when an attempt was made to bribe his Vertue with the alluring prospect of the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, and a

When the People stop'd his Coach, at Dort, and ask'd whether he was their Stattholder; he reply'd that he was satisfy'd with the Honors that were conferr'd upon him. But we are not answer'd the People, unless we have you for our Governor.

An. 1674. The Deputies of the Nobility and Cities, representing the Estates of the Duchy of Guelderland and County of Zutphen, offer'd him the Sovereignty of the Province, in the Name of their Masters.

'Tis notoriously known that these Proposals were made by France.

promise to favour and support his pretensions to *England*, at a time when he cou'd not expect to maintain his Right without the assistance that was propos'd to him; 'tis known that he rejected the tempting Offer, and that his Enemies cou'd not forbear admiring a Moderation that broke all their measures, and convinc'd 'em that he wou'd never be prevail'd with to accept a Crown on the inglorious Condition of destroying those who had a Title to his Profection.

'Tis from such Instances as these that we ought to Form an Idea of his Majesty's Temper, rather than from the groundless conjectures of a byas'd fancy. And all the actions of his Life are so many convincing Demonstrations, that he has always look'd upon it, both as his Duty and Interest, to preserve, rather than to destroy the People.

* M. Fagel wrote on this occasion to Mr.

Stewart. And when the Court of *Eng'*land endeavor'd to persuade the World that this was a supposititious Letter, and that it did not give a true account of their Highnesses Sentiments, having publish'd a Book to that Effect call'd *Parlamentum Pacificum*; Mr. Fagel complain'd openly of the dissingenuity of their Proceedings, and by a second Letter confirm'd the Declaration he had formerly sent in their Highnesses Name.

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left of composing the Disorders in *England*, without having recourse to the last, and most violent Remedy, he endeavour'd to prevent the Ruin of his Father in Law, and the Miseries that threaten'd the Nation, by tendering an advice which that Prince had the misfortune to reject. This is undoubted Matter of Fact, and consequently, ought to make a stronger impresson upon us than if it were only a probability grounded on plausible Presumptions. * Nor was he either soon or easily prevail'd with to go over to *England*; for he deferr'd that Expedition till he cou'd delay it no longer, without neglecting at once his Honor, Conscience and Interest.

* After the death of Charles II. he rejected the advice and assistance of the late Elector of Brandenburg; and when that Prince wou'd have engag'd him to go over

to *England*, he reply'd that he wou'd never make any Attempt against the King his Father in Law, without an absolute necessity; but at the same time he protested that if he cou'd not otherwise prevent the subversion of the Laws and Religion of *England*, he wou'd undertake the Voyage, tho' he shou'd be oblig'd to Embark in a Fisher-boat.

These who exclaim against so many Sovereigns for favouring the descent in *England*, do at the same tacitely acknowledge, that 'twas then the general opinion of those Princes, that their common Safety and the

the Liberty of *Europe* depended upon the success of that Expedition: And 'tis plain from the event that they were not deceiv'd.

The Prince of *Orange's* arrival in *England* fill'd the World with an impatient expectation of the approaching Crisis that was to determine the Fate of *Europe*. Every Man was an attentive Spectator of a Revolution in which All were so nearly concern'd; and none but such who are incapable of regarding the public Interest, can be suppos'd to be unacquainted with the Circumstances of so important a Transaction: And therefore, instead of entertaining the Reader with a particular account of his present Majesty's Proceedings on that occasion, I shall content my self with observing in the general; that 'twas his first and principal desire, that a Parliament might be call'd to settle the affairs of the Nation; That, to secure that great Assembly from the apprehension of any disturbance or constraint, he offer'd to retire Threescore Miles from the Capital City, provided King *James's* Army wou'd withdraw
to

to an equal distance. That, when the late King fell into his Hands, he suffer'd him to make his escape, without considering the dangers to which the Life of an implacable Enemy, wou'd in all probability expose him. That afterwards he order'd his Forces to March out of the Places, where the Members of the approaching Convention were to be chosen, that the Elections might be manag'd with an absolute Freedom. That at last the Representatives of the Nation, of their own accord, declar'd the Throne vacant, and presented him with a Crown which he had never demanded.

'Twill not I hope be deny'd, even by our Enemies, that *England* is too potent a Nation, and too considerable in all respects to be frightened into a servile complaisance; and too Wise and Provident to make so great an Alteration, without considering both its Nature and Consequences. And therefore, since the Representatives of such a Nation look'd upon this as the only Expedient to secure their Liberty; the Prince to whom they made their address

*His Enemies
cou'd not for-
bear commen-
ding this Effect
of his Modera-
tion. See the
History of the
Revolutions in
Engl. Book II.*

*See the Act
Gulielm. &
Marix, entitl'd,
An Act de-
claring the
Rights and
Privileges of
the Subjects
to regulate the
Succession to
the Crown.*

address could neither fancy himself wiser than so great a People; who desir'd his Protection, and offer'd him the Crown after long and mature deliberations; nor prefer some private considerations before the general Good of a whole Nation, or rather of many Nations, whose Interests were link'd together. 'Tis plain that an Action of this Nature may be either censur'd or commended according to the Principle from which we derive it, and that the Judgment we give in such Cases depends on the Intention we ascribe to the Actor; and consequently there is nothing but Prejudice and Ill-nature that can hinder us from acquiescing in the Justice of his Majesty's Proceedings.

*History of the
Revolutions in
Engl. Book II.*

Satyr may raise Suspensions, or invent Crimes, and afterwards endeavour to fasten the imaginary Guilt upon those whom she resolves to attack: But unbiass'd History judges of a Prince's Actions by his Deportment upon other occasions. Those who fancy it unreasonable to suppose that one may be King of *England*, or even Heir to the Crown, without en-

endeavouring to destroy the Nation, will never be able to comprehend the Motives that shou'd oblige his Majesty to expose his Person for the preservation of his People: They know not, or at least do not consider, that a true King may be distinguish'd by the same marks by which *Solomon* distinguish'd the true Mother. However, 'tis certain that all the spiteful Reproaches which are levell'd against his Majesty for accepting the Crown, rebound with greater force upon the Nation that presented it to him; and that those who are possess'd with so Brutish a Fury, as to imagine that he may be Affassinated without a Crime, because he suffer'd our Representatives to place him upon the Throne, do at the same time pronounce a bloody Sentence against the Parliament, and condemn the whole Kingdom to Havock and Desolation. This is the natural Tendency of the Maxims of that Party, and we must do 'em the Justice to acknowledge that their Actions are sutable to their Principles; for it will appear that
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the Conspiracy against the Nation,
and the barbarous Design against the
Person and Government of its De-
liverer had the same beginning, and
advanc'd with equal Steps.

IMME-

1689

The Discovery was made by a French Protestant, who insinuated himself into the Favour and Confidence of the Conspirators, by pretending to be engag'd in the same design. He was hinder'd, by several Accidents, from giving such timely Notice to the Court, that the Assassins might be apprehended. The Discovery was communicated, in Holland, to some zealous Friends of the Government; and, in England, to My Lord Sydney.

IMMEDIATELY after His Majesties Accession to the Crown, he receiv'd advice from *Germany* and *Holland*, and even from *France*, that several Persons were landed in *England* with a resolution to Assassinate him: And not long after he was inform'd that they had left the Kingdom, because they cou'd not find an opportunity to execute their Design. It seems that He either did not believe, or, at least, did not much regard these Informations; but He cou'd not behold, with so little concern, the Dangers that threaten'd his Subjects. There was also a Conspiracy discover'd in *Scotland*, where the secret Enemies of the Government had form'd a design to murder such as were most remarkable for their Fidelity and Affection to His Majesty, to set the *City of Edinburgh* on Fire in Seven or Eight different places, and afterwards to retire to the *Highlands*: But these were not the main Efforts

Efforts of the Disaffected Party, nor the principal Difficulties with which the Government was oblig'd to encounter.

The Late King having put himself at the Head of his Party in *Ireland*, had reduc'd the Protestants of that Kingdom to great Extremities. If he had consult'd his Interest, he wou'd never have made so false a step, in a juncture that wou'd have requir'd all the Caution and Dexterity of the most refin'd Politician; but it seems he cou'd not resist the impetuous Motions of a Council of *French* and *Irish* Bigots, who were accusom'd to govern him. 'Twill perhaps be expected, that I shou'd take this occasion to attempt that Prince's Character; but I must confess, I have not courage enough to venture upon so nice a Task. For 'tis certain that, in such a case, the most scrupulous Caution can hardly preserve an Author from transgressing the narrow Limits that are prescrib'd to him, by the respect which is due to those, whose Honour, as well as their Lives, ought to be Sacred

cred even to their Enemies. Few are capable of managing a Subject of this Nature with a tender and wary Hand; and even the modestest Performances in this kind are obnoxious to the unjust Censures of a byass'd Reader. And therefore, instead of assuming the Liberty to speak of his Person, I shall content my self with making some Reflexions upon the Proceedings of his Council, which I cou'd not omit without rendering my Work obscure and defective.

'Twas the Opinion of every judicious Person, who observ'd their Maxims and Conduct, that, even from the beginning, they gave the World too plain a view of their Designs, and proceeded with too hasty an eagerness in the Execution of 'em.

Here, under their wonted pretext of dispensing with the Laws, they *In this account I have neither magnify'd nor multiply'd the Disorders that were committed by the Government. They were either corrected by the Late King himself, upon the News of the Prince's Expedition, or after his Flight, by the Convention. The Laws that were made upon that occasion by the Parliaments of England and Scotland, are undoubted Testimonies of the several Attempts that were made to subvert our Laws and Religion; nor will any reasonable Person expect any other Arguments to prove the Truth of a matter of Fact, of which all the Inhabitants of these Nations were either Eye or Ear-Witnesses.*

The History of the

establiſh'd an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion that was equally terrible to the Church and to the State. The Incorporations were diſpoſſeſs'd of their Charters, the Council was fill'd with Roman-Catholics, and the Univerſities were depriv'd of their Privileges. The Temporal Lords were oblig'd either to quit their Places or renounce their Religion, the Biſhops were im- priſon'd, and an *Iriſh* Army was brought into the Kingdom in time of Peace.

In *Scotland*, they were ſo far from obſerving any meaſures, that they look'd upon it as too mean a Condeſcenſion to preſerve the leaſt regard for the Laws. They perſwaded the King to aſſume a Deſpotic Power, and taught him to uſe a Language which till then was unknown to the Free-born People of *Great Britain*; for they had the confidence to make him declare that, by virtue of his *Sovereign Authority* and *Absolute Power*, he abrogated the Acts of Parliament that were made againſt the Roman-Catholics.

See his Pro-
clamation pub-
liſh'd in that
Kingdom.

The unſucceſſfulneſs of the At-
tempt was a convincing Argument
of

of the temerity of the Project, but cou'd not oblige its Contrivers to alter their measures, as it appears by their Conduct in *Ireland*; for the Promises that were made in King *James's* Name to the Protestant Inhabitants of that Kingdom, both before and after his arrival among 'em, cou'd not protect 'em from the barefac'd violence of their Tyrannical Oppressors.

Their Effects, Cattle, Wool, Money and Merchandizes, were seiz'd and employ'd in the maintaining of a War against their Friends in *England*; Their Lands were laid waste, their Houses pillag'd, and the Benefices bestow'd on their ancient and most implacable Enemies the Priests. The *Act of Settlement*, which was the only security they cou'd depend upon, was violated, and the Roman Catholics were authoriz'd by the Government to take Possession of their Estates. Both the Protestant Religion and those who profess'd it were in a manner proscrib'd, and expos'd as a Prey to those who were equally prompted by interest and inclination to destroy 'em. The People

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were persecuted and murder'd by their domineering Enemies, who were rather encourag'd than punish'd for their Barbarity. They were forc'd to resign their Churches, and were even deny'd the liberty of meeting together to perform their Devotions. At last all the Protestants in *Dublin* were secur'd; and when the Prisons were full, the Churches were turn'd to Goals. These disorders are particularly describ'd by

Dr. King, the present Bishop of London-der-ry, then Dean of Dublin, in his Book entitul'd, a Bishop of that Country, who had the misfortune to be a considerable Sharer in the common Calamity.

The State of the Protestants of *Ireland* under the Government of the late King. *The whole Book is full of Instances of this Nature, of which I have not mention'd the Twentieth part.*

* *The Duke of Schomberg.*

The King was so sensibly touch'd with the deplorable Condition of *Ireland*, that he resolv'd to go thither in Person, tho' he plac'd an entire confidence in the * Person whom he had entrusted with the command of his Forces: And that generous Undertaking was so visibly attended with the Blessing of Heaven, that in the space of Three Months he reduc'd Two Third parts of

of the Kingdom, and gave his Enemies a Fatal blow which broke all their Measures, and ruin'd their unjust Hopes. 'Twas by the wise Direction of that Providence which had so often deliver'd him from the Hands of bloody Traitors, and preserv'd a Life that was to be expos'd to more honorable Dangers, that the Wound he receiv'd at the *Boyn* gave occasion to a false Report of his Death, which occasion'd as public a joy in *France*, as the true account of his Victories did in This, and all the other Nations of *Europe*.

The Parliament thank'd him for exposing that Life to the greatest Dangers, on which the Fate of Protestants, and the common Liberty of all *Europe* depended: And the happy Change that appear'd every where in the public Affairs on that occasion, is a more than sufficient Ground to vindicate that Illustrious Body from the Imputation of Flattery. People were surpriz'd to find themselves safer in the midst of a bloody War, than they were in time of Peace: The *Switzers* were no lon-

1690.

ger apprehensive of their incroaching Neighbour: The *Protestant* Religion was preserv'd without any prejudice to the *Roman-Catholics*: The Princes and States upon the *Rhine* were either secur'd from Danger, or in a condition to defend themselves: An effectual stop was put to the Pretensions and Conquests of the Chambers of *Metz* and *Brisac*; the Electorates of *Mentz* and *Cologne* were reconquer'd; and a King of the *Romans* was chosen according to the Inclination and Interest of the Members of the Empire. Three Kingdoms were deliver'd from Oppression, and rais'd to their wonted Glory of protecting their distressed Neighbors. The *Netherlands* had the satisfaction to obey a Governor whom they had long and ardently desir'd, but cou'd never obtain till now. The Branches of the House of *Austria* were happily re-united to one another, and to those whose Interest 'twas to support 'em. *England* and *Holland* resolv'd at last to pursue their mutual Interest, and to cherish an Union which is absolutely necessary to their Preservation. *France* had the mortification

tification to see her self exhausted by the prodigious efforts she was oblig'd to make; as the rest of the World had the satisfaction to perceive that ere long she wou'd either be confin'd within her ancient Limits by our Arms, or ruin'd by her own dear-bought Victories.

These were the Glorious consequences of his Majesty's Establishment upon the Throne of *England*: Every Nation was sensible of its particular Obligations, and the Eyes of all the World were fix'd upon their Great Benefactor. Even We, who ow'd all the Happiness we possess'd, or cou'd hope to enjoy, to his generous Assistance, and whom he had lately deliver'd from the greatest danger that ever threaten'd a Nation, cou'd hardly out-do the rest of *Europe* in expressing our Gratitude and Affection. For, after he had receiv'd the Blessings and Applauses of his Subjects, when the managing of the Public Interest requir'd his Presence at the *Hague*, he was attended by a Court of Sovereigns, who seem'd to come thither on purpose to pre-

sent him with the Compliments and Acknowledgments of *Europe*.

But while so many Illustrious Persons were endeavouring with a kind of Emulation to express their Esteem for his Person, and the confidence they plac'd in his Vertue; and while he was receiving the Testimonies of their Respect and Affections with a Modesty that secur'd him from Envy in the midst of his Triumphs; there was a design set on Foot to rob the World of its Hope and Delight, by such Ways and Means as are very rarely suspected or foreseen by Persons of his Courage and Temper.

1691. 'Twas about this time that a French Minister of State, whose Name makes an inglorious Figure in *Grandval's* Examination, engag'd one *Dumont* to Assassinate his Majesty. I dare not charge that Minister with the first contrivance of so detestable a Project; since we have so much reason to believe that he acted only in pursuance of the Instructions he had receiv'd from those whom he thought himself oblig'd to obey. 'Tis not without Reluctancy that I
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enter upon a Subject, which carries Horror in its Idea, and is so inconsistent with the common Principles of Humanity, that the matter of Fact wou'd appear incredible if it were not confirm'd by unquestionable Evidence. Murder in the general, without the aggravating circumstance of Assassinating a Sovereign, is equally accompany'd with Guilt and Shame; and even the most harden'd Assassins are oftentimes sensible of the Infamy that attends their Crime. 'Tis impossible to imagine a Provocation strong enough to excuse either the Committing or Encouraging of so barbarous an Action; nor wou'd a Man of Honor be tempted to execute his just Revenge by so dishonorable a Way. Such unmanly Resentments as these are peculiar to those mean and degenerate Souls, whose Merit consists in Baseness and Envy, and who are only able to defend themselves by Villany and Treason.

But supposing that the *French* Ministers neither were, nor car'd to be reputed, Men of Honor; they ought never to have form'd a Design, which
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wou'd have left an indelible stain upon the Gratitude of the Prince whom they pretended to serve.

* *The Magistrates of Rotterdam imprison'd a Villain who offer'd to kill the French King. They sent an account of the project to Mr. Montausier, and offer'd to deliver up the Offender.*

† *Another Proposal of the same nature was made to the King, when he was Prince of Orange. The Person who offer'd to undertake the Murder gave an account of the place where he was to be found; and the Prince sent Mr. Dickfelt immediately to acquaint the Count d'Avaux with the whole Project.*

* 'Tis known, that when some desperate Persons in *Holland* offer'd their detestable Service to Assassinate that Monarch, they were so far from being encourag'd or protected, that an offer was made to put 'em into the Hands of those whom they had injur'd. † And both the Count d'Avaux and Mr. Dickfelt can testify, that it has been in the Power of a Prince, whose sacred Life has been so often endanger'd by the Treachery of his Enemies, to execute his Vengeance upon 'em by their own inglorious Methods.

Besides, what cou'd be more injurious to the boasted Glory of *Lewis XIV.* than that his own Ministers shou'd contrive a Project which cou'd not be executed without fixing so black a scandal either upon his Virtue or Dignity; for he cou'd not decline condemning it without rendering himself eternally infamous, nor afterwards suffer it to be executed without proclaiming to all the World that he was not Master in

in his own Dominions. At least, it might have been expected that the Project wou'd have expir'd with its Author, and that the succeeding Ministers wou'd be either afraid or ashamed to pursue a Design that left such a Blot upon the Memory of its Contriver. Yet the Reader will find that it was carry'd on after his Death; and, I shall have occasion to give a particular account of its Progress and Success, after I have taken a Succinct view of the intended Invasion.

As soon as the *Roman-Catholics* in this Kingdom perceiv'd that there was a Party form'd in *Ireland* who had openly declar'd for the late King; they began to carry on the same design here, in secret Cabals, tho' with little appearance of Success: For the smallness of their Numbers secur'd us from open violence; and the Sense of our Duty and Interest kept us from being deluded by their Artifices. They cou'd neither have so mean an Opinion of our Courage nor Judgment, as to imagine that we wou'd voluntarily submit to an impotent and implacable Enemy;

my; or that a few canting Sophisms wou'd prevail with us to neglect Self-preservation.

And therefore, since they cou'd never expect to be Masters, they ought to have contented themselves with the quality and condition of Subjects. They might have continu'd to enjoy whatever they cou'd justly call their own, under the protection of a Mild and easy Government, that allow'd 'em all the Liberty they cou'd desire, except that of subverting the Laws, and destroying their Country and Fellow-Subjects. But their Minds were still possess'd with the Remembrance of those aspiring Hopes that were defeated by the Revolution; and their Ambition was rather inflam'd than allay'd by so unexpected a Disappointment. Besides, they thought themselves oblig'd to support a Prince who had sacrific'd his Crown to their Advancement; and fancy'd that notwithstanding their present Weakness, they might easily make good their pretensions by the assistance of their *French* Protectors. These were the Motives that engag'd 'em in a Design

Design which cou'd not be carry'd on without disturbing their own Quiet as well as that of the Nation, and made 'em resolve to shut their Eyes against the visible Dangers to which they expos'd themselves by venturing upon so hazardous an Attempt.

'Twas on the 18 of October 1689. that a Minister of State receiv'd a Letter from the Assizes, held by adjournment at *Manchester*, by which he was intreated to advertise the Council, *That many of the Roman-Catholic Younger Gentry, some of good Quality, were absconded for some Months, that to some of the Gentlemen now absconded there had been sent from London several Boxes with Scarlet Cloaks, Pistols and Swords, directed for safer conveyance to Protestants, who knew nothing of them, and by that means discover'd. That some had been Modelling Officers and Men preparatory to their hope of an Invasion or Insurrection, that tho' the Goals were full of Irish Papists, yet many were entertain'd at Popish Houses, &c.*

The Correspondence which the late King entertain'd with the Papists

pists in *Lancashire*, was manag'd by one *Bromefield* a Quaker, who liv'd at *Redland* near *Chester*, in the House of one *Wilson*, who was acquainted with, and engag'd in the Conspiracy. But perceiving that they began to be taken notice of, and not daring to continue longer in a place where they were look'd upon as suspicious Persons, the First fled to *Ireland* and the Second to *Lancashire*.

After them, the management of the Intrigue was committed to *Gordon*, *Lunt*, and *Thrillfall*, who came from *Ireland* with Declarations and Commissions from King *James* to the *Roman-Catholics* in several Counties of *England*. They landed in *Lancashire*, where they open'd their Commissions, by which *Gordon* was appointed to go to *Scotland*, *Thrillfall* to *Yorkshire*, and *Lunt* to *Staffordshire*, *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*. In pursuance of these Orders they parted, and went immediately to the respective Places that were allotted 'em, where they executed their Commissions, tho' with different Success.

Thrillfall

Thrillfall had already finish'd his Negotiation in *Yorkshire*, and was returning thro' *Cheshire* to *Ireland*, when he was pursu'd upon Suspicion, and kill'd as he was endeavouring to defend himself. *Lunt* having perform'd his Commission, was sent to *London*, to levy Soldiers, to be distributed among the Conspirators in the North. In his return from thence, after he had Executed his Orders, he was Seiz'd at *Coventry*, by one of the Kings Messengers, brought back to *London*, and Committed to *Newgate*. Five Months after he was set at Liberty; having given Bail to appear next *Hillary Term*, at the *King's Bench*, from whence he was sent to be Try'd, at the Assizes in *Lancashire*. He was Committed for High-Treason, to the Castle of *Lancaster*, upon the Evidence of the Master of the Ship, who brought him over from *Ireland*, and the Officers of the Custom-house, who found some of King *James's* Commissions among the Papers which he left in the Vessel.

But

But these were not the most Terrible Witnesses, that were like to appear against him: For about that time, the Conspiracy was discover'd, by two several Persons. The first was *Kelly*, who declar'd what he knew, to the Mayor of *Eversham*, in *worcestershire*, the Earl of *Bellamont*, and some Persons of Quality, in that Country, who Communicated the Discovery to the Council. But tho' his Deposition remain'd in the Hands of the Government, his Person disappear'd so suddenly, and in so strange a manner, that we cou'd never afterwards hear an account of him. His Fate continues a Mystery to this day; but, whether he was kill'd or carry'd away, 'tis certain that the Conspirators from that very time began to resume their Courage, which was extremely sunk upon the News of his Discovery.

Dodsworth was the Second who alarm'd the Party, by discovering the Conspiracy to a Member of Parliament, who sent an account of it to one of the Secretaries of State, by whose Order the Informer was brought

brought from *Lancashire* to *London*:
And 'twas found that his Deposition
agreed exactly with that of *Kelly*,
tho' they were at a hundred Miles
distance when they were exam-
in'd. .

Dodsworth was sent to the Castle
of *Lancashire* to joyn his Evidence to
the Testimony of the other Witnesses
that were to appear against *Lunt*,
who, nevertheless, cou'd not be
convicted according to the usual
Forms of Law. For, when he was
brought to his Tryal, the Master of
the Ship, who brought him from
Ireland, either was, or pretended to
be sick: And the Officers of the
Custom-house cou'd not swear that
the Papers which were produc'd in
the Court were the same which
they found in the Ship, because they
had forgotten to mark 'em. Thus
the whole Evidence being reduc'd
to the single Testimony of *Dodsworth*,
Lunt, tho' apparently Guilty, was
acquitted; and both the Court and
Jury chose rather to absolve a Cri-
minal, than to violate the least Cir-
cumstance of the Law. A rare In-
stance of Justice and Moderation,
D which,

which, at once, may serve to convince us of the Mildness and Clemency of the present Government, and of the extravagant Prejudice of those who wou'd exchange it for Arbitrary Power ; and, of two things which seem to be equally the Objects of our Admiration, leaves us in doubt, whether we have greater reason to Love and Esteem the Former, or to Hate and Detest the Latter.

November
1691.

Lunt, by his Services and Sufferings, had so far insinuated himself into the Favor and Confidence of his Party, that, in a Meeting of Jacobites at *Standish-Hall* in *Lancashire*, he was chosen to go to *France*, to acquaint King *James* with the present posture of his affairs here, and to know what Assistance might be expected from him.

December
1691.

The Answer he brought was, that the late King was preparing to come in Person to *England* the next Spring; and that in the mean time, he wou'd send 'em his last Instructions by a sure and faithful Hand. Not long after *Walmuly* and *Parker* came to *England* by that Prince's Order, and appointed

Febr 1691.

ted a Meeting of the principal Persons of their Faction at *Dungen-Hall*, where they deliver'd the Commissions and Presents they had brought from *France*; and at the same time assur'd 'em that King *James* wou'd speedily land in *England* with a sufficient Force to support 'em.

In the mean they were putting all things in readiness, at *la Hogue*, for the intended Expedition: The Preparations they made were very great, and the Measures they had taken seem'd to promise Success, as it will appear by the following account of 'em. April 1692.

By the Articles that were agreed upon at the surrender of *Limerick*, the *French* had cunningly reserv'd a Liberty to retain a very considerable Body of the *Irish* Forces in their Service, whom they design'd, upon the first convenient occasion, to send over to *England*. These Troops consisted of such as were most deeply engag'd in the routed Party, and long'd for a Second War to make up the Losses they had sustain'd in the First. They were rather irritated then discourag'd by their late Mis-

fortunes, and so unaccustom'd to Labor, that the love of Idleness joyn'd to the desire of Booty had made 'em forsake their native Country. Besides, they look'd upon our Happiness with Envy and Rage, and cou'd not endure to be Subject to those whom they once hop'd to enslave. Such Men as these were the fittest to be employ'd in a Design of this Nature, and, in all probability wou'd have prov'd the most effectual Instruments of our Destruction, if they cou'd have found an opportunity to join the Disaffected Party among us.

There were Three sorts of Persons in this Nation, whom we might justly look upon as Domestic Enemies. First the zealous and bigotted *Roman-Catholics*, or rather all *Roman-Catholics* in general; for tho' some of 'em appear'd more cautious and moderate than the Rest, 'twas the general opinion of the Party that all the Papists in *England* wou'd take up Arms on that occasion. The Second Order of *Jacobites* consisted of the late King's Servants, who ow'd their Fortune and

and Preferment to his Favor: And the Third comprehends those whose Interest and Safety depended upon the Subversion of the Laws; Men of turbulent Spirits and desperate Fortunes, who hop'd to raise themselves upon the Ruins of their Country.

Such Persons as these are at once our Plague and our Reproach, but the Breed is not peculiar to *England*; for every Nation has its share in the common Calamity, and has the misfortune to produce a Set of Men who seem to be in Love with Disorder, and are never more apt to appear in their native and hideous Colours, than when they are protected by the Indulgency of the Laws and the Clemency of the Government, and meet with an opportunity to cover their pernicious Designs with a false pretext of Duty and Allegiance. They are perpetually talking of Fidelity and Obedience, and seem to make Loyalty their Idol; tho' they are usually the Principal Promoters of Rebellion, and seldom or never well affected to the Government under which they live.

Plotting is their Business and Recreation; they love Confusion and expect to live by it, and are ready to joyn with every Faction upon the cheapest Terms that can be propos'd. When there is no present Advantage in view, they work for Expectation; Plunder is all the Pay they require, and their Prosperity consists in the Desolation of their Country.

Besides, the *French* were preparing to land a considerable Body of Forces in this Kingdom, to support the disaffected Party: For the Court of *St. Germans* repented that they had formerly plac'd too much confidence in an Army of *English* Men, who lov'd their Country and their Religion.

'Twas the general opinion of the Party, that the placing of too much Confidence in Subjects who were unworthy of it, depriv'd King James of the assistance he might have expected from others. They remember'd the advice of some of his Councillors, who, looking upon his Army as the Nerves and support of his Undertakings, and the only way to secure him against the
obsti-

obstinacy of those whom neither the lawfulness of his Authority, nor his Moderation in using it could retain in Obedience to the Government, would have perswaded him to entertain a sufficient number of Catholics in his Army to keep the rest in awe, and to put it out of their Power to betray him; and were of opinion that both these Effects might have been produc'd by joining the Irish Troops to such of the English and Scotch as were Remarkable for their Fidelity to his Interest. Thus we may easily perceive, by the reflexions they made on their former Conduct, what Measures they resolv'd to take for the future.

*History of the
Revolutions in
England, Book
II. p. 428.*

They concluded that an Army of *French* and *Irish*, with some pretended Protestants who regarded neither their Country nor Religion, would never show King *James* a Copy of his *Salisbury Expedition*; and that with such Forces as these they might make an entire Conquest of *England* as soon as they should think fit to undertake it.

In pursuance of that design the *French* labor'd with great application to encrease their Naval Strength;

ping that, if they cou'd corrupt the Officers of our Fleet, or be in a readiness to put to Sea before the *Dutch* Men of War cou'd join Ours, they might easily find an opportunity to fight us with advantage, and afterwards Land their Soldiers without Opposition.

In the mean time, to oblige us to send our Land Forces to *Flanders*, and at the same time to hinder our Allies from assisting us, the *French* King appear'd at the Head of his numerous Armies, as if he had resolv'd, in one Campaign, to conquer a Country, which for Sixty Years had been both the Seat, and Cause of the War. He intended to invade *England*, if our Army continu'd in the *Netherlands*; or to make himself Master of those Provinces, if we shou'd be oblig'd to recall our Forces. But the Principal Design of all the vast Preparations he had made, was to keep this Nation embroil'd in a Civil War, till he had broken the Confederacy, that he might fall upon us with his united Forces, and by subduing *England* put himself in a condition to conquer all the rest of *Europe*. But

Late Conspiracy.

41

But tho the Conspirators expected a considerable Reinforcement from *France*, and a powerful diversion in *Flanders*; tho they were sure of the Assistance of so many false Protestants, and (as they imagin'd) of several Officers in our Navy; notwithstanding all these Advantages, they look'd upon His Majesty's Life as an invincible Obstacle to the Accomplishment of their Designs, and despair'd of succeeding in their Attempt against us, while we enjoy'd the Protection of our Great Deliverer.

They dreaded his Power, Forces and Alliances; but were more afraid of his single Person, than of the united strength of the whole Confederacy. They had oftentimes had the unwelcome experience of his Constancy, Resolution, and unweary'd Application; and knew, to their sorrow and cost, that his Courage was never shock'd by the most terrible Dangers; that upon a pressing Exigency he cou'd brave a thousand Deaths, and cut his way through the most vigorous Opposition; that when the posture of his Affairs requir'd more Prudence than Valor, he cou'd
proceed

1592.

proceed with all the Coolness and Policy of the wariest Statesman ; that he was peculiarly happy in baffling the Designs of his Enemies, and in turning even their most successful Contrivances against themselves ; that he was equally unmov'd in Good and Bad Fortune, that he was never capable either of Vanity or Fear, and cou'd only be overcome by Himself. These Considerations made his Enemies resolve to take away a Life that secur'd *Europe*, and *England* particularly, from the utmost Efforts both of their Policy and Force : And in pursuance of this execrable Resolution they engag'd some desperate Villains to Murder him. But God saw, and blasted their dark Contrivances, and deliver'd Him whom He had made the Deliverer of so many Nations.

1692.

The Assassins were taken near *Bosleduc* ; and by their Examination it appears, *That Dumont and Grandval were solicited to undertake the Assassination of the King. That the Design having miscarry'd in 1691. was resum'd the next year. That one Leefdael, formerly Captain Lieutenant*
of

of a Troop of Dragoons in the Service of the States, coming to Paris, Grandval communicated the Design to him, and desir'd him to be concern'd in it, with Dumont and himself, because he thought Dumont wou'd not be able to execute it alone. That Grandval went with Leefdael and Colonel Parker to St. Germain's, and that King James said to him, Parker has acquainted me with your business; If you and the other Officers do me this Service, you shall never want any thing. That upon this assurance, a Letter was sent to Dumont who was then at Hanover, desiring him to meet Grandval and Leefdael in the Country of Ravestein, where they were to take their last Resolutions, and entreating him to hasten his departure, least the King, in the mean time, shou'd return to England. That Dumont was to lye in wait, and to kill His Majesty as he pass'd the Lines, or went to visit the Posts at the decamping of the Army. That Grandval told Leefdael, upon the Road, that if their Design succeeded, the Confederacy wou'd be broken, that every Prince wou'd recall his Forces, that the Country

try being left without defence, the French King wou'd soon make himself Master of it, and that King James wou'd be restor'd to his Throne.

To keep *Leefdael* from being discourag'd by the Difficulties and Hazards to which the prosecution of their Design might expose 'em, he told him that they were only to follow the King, that *Dumont* was to give the Blow, and that after the business was done they might easily make their escape and leave *Dumont* to take his Fortune.

But both *Dumont* and *Leefdael* repented their Engaging in so black a Villany, and discover'd what they knew of it almost at the same time; the one to a Prince in *Germany*, who was his Majesty's particular Friend, and the other to some Magistrates in *Holland* who had a sincere affection to the Person and Interest of that Monarch.

1692.

Grandval was taken and receiv'd the just Reward of his Crimes, after he had made a full Confession without being put to the Torture. He seem'd to be very penitent, and declar'd with some resentment at his

his Death, that he was ruin'd by the Authors of that detestable Project.

There was a Detachment made from the Duke of *Luxemburg's* Army, consisting of Three Thousand Horse, who were to be Posted at the Advanc'd Guard to receive the Murderers. This is a Circumstance that ought not to be forgotten; for 'tis plain they took this way that the Assassination might be look'd upon as a Stratagem of War: And 'tis probable that either it was propos'd at first as an Attempt to carry away the King, or that they resolv'd, after the Blow was given, to make it pass under that Notion.

'Tis evident that this barbarous Design was the Favourite Project of the Party, since they continu'd to pursue it after so Remarkable a Disappointment. If we examine the whole Course of their Proceedings since that time, it will appear that the Conspiracy which was lately discover'd in this Kingdom, was the same with that in which *Grandval* was engag'd; and this is more than a bare Conjecture, since 'tis confirm'd
by

Larue, in
Charnock's
Tryal.

by the Deposition of one of the Conspirators. *The Conspiracy*, says he, hath been carrying on a great while, for some Years. And it originally came from Colonel Parker, especially as to my knowledge of it, and that was Five or Six Years ago, at St. Germain's, when I was there: He propos'd it to me, and said he wou'd propose it to my Lord Melford, &c.

We have already observ'd that the Assassination of his Majesty was contriv'd and resolv'd upon, in order to the Invasion of his Subjects; and we have reason to believe that the Design of God, in preserving his Life, was to make him once more our Deliverer: For 'twas He alone who oppos'd our impending Ruine, and and baffl'd the Designs of our Enemies.

He prevented the Loss of the *Netherlands*, by wise Delays; and took such Measures as might one Day put him in a Condition to Recover what he cou'd not then Preserve.

He hasten'd the Sailing of the *Dutch Fleet*, and fitted out his own with such diligence and expedition, that, notwithstanding the utmost Efforts

Efforts the *French* cou'd make to prevent us, they were oblig'd to encounter with Two Fleets, when they expected only to have met with One.

When his Enemies had recourse to their wonted Artifices, and endeavour'd to corrupt the Officers of his Navy, he not only defeated their Treacherous Project, but made their Stratagem Fatal to themselves: For Admiral *Carter* was order'd to Treat with 'em, and amuse 'em with a seeming Compliance, till they fell into the Snare which they had prepar'd for us.

He sent the Earl of *Portland* with secret Instructions to the Queen, that She might not, even in his absence, be oblig'd to depend upon the Advice and Opinions of any other Council but himself. In pursuance of these Orders, Warrants were issu'd out to apprehend suspected Persons; the Arms, Horses and Magazines of the disaffected Party were seiz'd; the Army was put into a posture of defence; care was taken to prevent Tumults and disorderly Meetings,

1692.

tings, and the Officers of the Fleet were engag'd by new obligations to continue Faithful to the Government. These were the Measures that were taken to preserve us, and God was pleas'd to bless our Industry, and to assert the justice of our Cause by a glorious and important Victory.

The Fate of *Europe* was decided in one Day at *La Hague*, and every Nation had its share in the Consequences of that memorable Action. We, who were more immediately concern'd in the Danger and Deliverance, and who had been so long alarm'd with the Expectation of the approaching Storm, cou'd hardly forbear Trembling, even in the midst of our Joy, when we reflected on the dismal Alterations which we must have beheld if the success had answer'd the Hope and Design of our Enemies. For, after such a Victory, the *French* might have drawn immense sums from *England*, either as a Reimbursement for the Charge of the War, or as a Subsidy impos'd upon a subdu'd Nation. They might have added above a Hundred Men of War to their Fleet, and encreas'd their

their Land-Forces with the formidable Addition of Fifty Thousand *English Men*, by whose Assistance they might have enlarg'd their Conquests, while we shou'd have been oblig'd to entertain an Army of Enemies, to compleat the destruction of our Country, under pretext of supporting the Authority of their Allie.

In *Ireland* the Papists wou'd have re-acted their former Barbarities, and dispossest the Protestants a second time of their Goods and Estates. In *England*, they wou'd have renew'd their Claim to the Church-Lands, and made us feel the severest Effects of their irritated Fury. In both the Kingdoms those who had refus'd to take the Oaths to the present Government wou'd have been rewarded with the Places of those who had taken 'em; and the Non-Swearing Clergy prefer'd to the richest Benefices. The Offices of State and the best Posts in the Army wou'd have been bestow'd on those who had exprest the greatest Zeal in enslaving the Nation; and the House of Peers wou'd have been fill'd with the most notorious Betrayers of their

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*History of the
Revolutions in
Engl. Book II.*

Country. The Nobility, whom they had the Impudence to represent as a Company of Traitors and Villains, wou'd have been punish'd for their Fidelity to the State, and for asserting their just Privileges with (at least) the Banishment of their Persons and Confiscation of their Estates; and the Representatives of the Nation Proscrib'd for Loving and Serving their Country. To conclude, the Laws wou'd have been at the Mercy of those whose Interest oblig'd 'em to violate and subvert Them; and none must have expected Preferment but such as had merited the Favour of our Enemies, by striving to encrease our Misery.

These Considerations which serv'd to confirm all True *English-Men* in their Affection and Fidelity to the Government, were so many powerful Incentives to its Enemies to pursue their former Designs. They continu'd still to hope that *France* might repair her Losses, and be again in a condition to assist 'em; but the Prospect was too distant to satisfy their eager Impatience: And therefore they

they began to consult how they might be able to destroy the Nation without the Assistance of Foreigners.

'Tis thought the Party were not Novices in the Art of ruining their Fellow-Subjects. They have been frequently Charg'd with the Massacre in *Ireland*, and the Burning of *London*; and 'tis strongly suspected that the Public Robbers, Pirates, Incendiaries, Debasers of Money, Spies and Assassins, were employ'd, as Instruments, in carrying on the great Design. The Reader is left to judge of the Truth or Probability of these Conjectures.

Whatever Opinion we ought to have of the Design of the Conspirators, we must do 'em the justice to acknowledge their Skill and Dexterity, in contriving the most probable Methods and Expedients, to accomplish it.

Of these Means and Expedients, some have been long since Foretold, some are universally known, our Enemies have betray'd their own Secret by divulging others, and we may discover the rest by a heedful

Examination of the Proceedings of the Conspirators, and the Progress of the Conspiracy. I will discourse of 'em in order, because the Subject is both Curious and Important.

About Seventeen or Eighteen Years ago, *Titus Oates* made a Discovery to the Parliament, which was variously censur'd by Persons of different Principles and Inclinations. Some gave credit to it, others rejected it as a meer Fable, and there were some who look'd upon it as a Mixture of Truth

Sr. Edmund-bury Godfrey's Murder, which cannot be reckon'd a Fable, is a strong Confirmation of, at least, part of that Discovery.

and Fiction. I will neither pretend to justify nor condemn all his Depositions, but content my self with observing, that there are some things which were look'd upon as incredible, by reason of the Enormity of the Crimes, tho later Experience has convinc'd us that they were really true; especially what relates to Trade, Exportation of Species, and the Debasement of Money.

Oates acquaints us, in the Appendix to his Information, Sworn before *Sr. Edmundbury Godfrey*, Sept. 27. 1678. That the Conspirators cou'd not endure King *Charles II.* because he was not of their Religion, and that

that they resolv'd to cut him off with all possible Speed. That they Charg'd him with Tyranny and Designs of oppressing, Governing by the Sword, and without Parliaments, and exposing his most Faithful and Valiant Subjects to be wasted and slain in foreign Service. 2. That they aspers'd, derided, expos'd and declaim'd against his Person, Counsels and Actions, in Parliament and elsewhere; and particularly scoff'd at his security and confidence in them, and by this means animated and encourag'd their Party and Assassins especially, to attempt upon his Life, and hasten his Ruine. 3. That they disclos'd the King's Counsels to France. 4. That they rais'd false News of his Affairs. 5. That they disaffected his Majesty's Allies, Holland, Spain, the German Emperor and Princes, by false Intelligence, &c. 6. That they disturb'd Trade. 7. That they set up, sent out and maintain'd Seditious Preachers and Catechists, and directed 'em what to Preach in their own, or other private Conventicles or Field-Meetings. 8. That they animated different Parties, one against another to Arm and put the People in Blood upon the King's

E 3 Death,

See, how they design'd to bring the Irish over to England. The application of the rest of the Particulars is obvious.

Death. 9. That our best Cities and Towns were to be Fir'd and Plunder'd by Irish, French, Lay-brethren and others, disguis'd in Frocks and other-wise. 10. That they endeavour'd to poyson and Assassinate by pick'd Quarrels, or otherwise, those whom they suppos'd to be ready or able to detect or otherwise obstruct their Designs. 11. That they design'd the Transportation of Trading, People, Stock and Money, **ADULTERATING MONET** and Plate; to which ends they had Bankers, Brokers, Merchants, Goldsmiths and other Traders, whom they Stock'd and Set up with Money of their Society, of which they boasted to have a Hundred Thousand Pounds in Cash.

Those who reflect upon what they see or hear, and consider the Temper and Actions of those who make a noise in the World, may easily judge whether the Party has continu'd to pursue the same Methods: And therefore, without insisting longer upon this Subject, I shall proceed, in the next place, to take notice of such of their Maxims as have been discover'd by themselves.

As for Parliaments, 'tis their Opinion, That a King of England's Condescension to his Parliament seldom produces a good Understanding between 'em. And particularly they tell us, that King Charles II. was advis'd to stand firm against the Attempts of an Assembly that made it their usual Custom to oppose and contradict him; that they wou'd still be starting new Claims and Demands, and wou'd at last raise 'em to such a Height, that His Majesty wou'd not be able to grant 'em, without consenting to his own Deposition, and consequently wou'd find himself to be still in the same condition; that is, after a thousand Condescensions against his own Interest, he wou'd at last be oblig'd to break with his Parliament, and find that his Complaisance had increas'd their Boldness, and made 'em less afraid to oppose him.

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Revolutions
in England,
Book II. p.
357.

They have left no means unattempted to set these Stratagems on foot against the present Government, by employing all their Artifices in a successless attempt to engage the King to invade the Liberty of his Subjects, or to make the People incroach

upon the Prerogative of the Crown. They endeavor'd to revive the ancient Jealousies that disturb'd the Quiet of the former Reigns ; as if it had been possible to keep us from perceiving the difference betwixt a Deliverer and an Oppressor, whose Characters are so opposite, that they can never agree either in the Manner or End of executing their Authority ; for 'tis a necessary consequence of their respective Maxims, that the Former shou'd endeavour to Preserve, and the Latter to Destroy his People. 'Tis both the Interest and Duty of an *English* Parliament to protect the People whom they represent from a Prince who treats 'em as Enemies or Slaves ; but they cannot, without consenting to their own Ruin, oppose a King who makes the Honor and Prosperity of the Nation the End of all his Designs and Undertakings. And we have reason to adore the favourable Providence of God, who has freed us from the Apprehensions of so terrible a Misfortune, and establish'd His Majesty's Throne by the most perfect Union
that

that ever was observ'd betwixt a King and his Parliament.

Besides these Ways to destroy the Nation, which they have known and practis'd so long, the present Juncture has furnish'd 'em with new Expedients. In the beginning of the War, our Trade was extremely disturb'd by *French* Privateers; but since their Defeat at *La Hogue* made 'em both afraid and unable to engage our Fleet, they seem to make no other use of their Men of War than to surprise our Merchant-Ships. And our treacherous Country-Men are always ready to give 'em secret and timely Notice of our Motions, and consequently betray the Riches of the Nation to its most inveterate Enemies.

In the mean time they were secretly fomenting our Divisions, and animating the different Parties that are among us, against us and one another. The *Scotch* Presbyterians were incited to take up Arms, by Sir *John Cochram*, and those of the same perswasion in *England* were manag'd by Mr. *Ferguson* and others.

About

Deposition of
Brice Blair,
March 12.
 1695.

About the time of the Siege of Mons, Sir John Cochram sent a Person in whom he confided, to King James, assuring him that, in some parts of Scotland, there were several Presbyterian Ministers who were the Leading Men of the Party, and some Gentlemen of Note that were intirely at his disposal. He offer'd his Interest to King James, from whom he had receiv'd *Fifteen Hundred Pounds Sterl.* which he said he had faithfully distributed among his Creatures; and desir'd him to send *Three thousand Pounds* more. In the mean time he pretended an extraordinary Zeal for Liberty of Conscience, and declar'd if King James wou'd not comply with his Subjects in that point, *he wou'd wade thro a Sea of Blood to go thither.* Thus he was equally unfaithful to the Nation and to that Party which he seem'd to espouse, by selling the Blood and Liberty of the Former for so small a Sum; and by obliging the Latter to depend upon the Late King's Word for an Advantage of which they were already in possession, and betraying 'em to those who are par-

particularly animated against 'em.

Ferguson, the noted Contriver of those Intrigues which at last prov'd Fatal to the unfortunate Duke of *Monmouth*, fam'd for Inconstancy and Treason, that Prodigy of Plotters whose whole Life is One black Mystery, was also a busie Promoter of this execrable Design. The Character that is given of him in the History of the Conspiracy against King *Charles II.* and the Duke of *York*, which was Written by their Order, is very remarkable, and serves to shew us what use the Party intended to make of a Person, with whose Temper they were so well acquainted.

The Author of that Book informs us, that *Ferguson* was not only engag'd in the Design of Assassinating those two Princes, but applauded it as a Glorious Work, saying, *that it wou'd be an Admonition to all Princes to take heed how they oppress'd their Subjects*; and adding upon another occasion, *that it was never thought Injustice to Shoot, or set Traps for Wolves and Tygers.* And one of the principal Conspirators speaking of a Blunderbus

The History of the

derbush which he intended to use in the Assassination of his Majesty, broke out into this prophane Jest, *That Ferguson shou'd first Consecrate it.*

In the same Book we are told that the Duke of *Monmouth* confess'd to the King, *That in all their Debates Ferguson was always for cutting of Throats, saying, that was the most Compendious way.* That *Ferguson* himself, when he took his leave of the Conspirators, declar'd, *That he wou'd never be out of a Plot as long as he liv'd,* and that at one of their Consults he propos'd, *that Five or Six of the Old Rich Citizens shou'd be kill'd at First, and their Estates given to the Mobile, to terrifie the rest.* That 'twas his constant Custom to out-do all the rest of the Conspirators, by some peculiar Circumstance of Cruelty of his own Invention. That upon all accounts of his restless Spirit, fluent Tongue, subtil Brain, and hellish Malice, he was perfectly Qualifi'd to be the great Incendiary, and common Agitator of the whole Conspiracy; and that after *Shaftsbury's* Death, he was the Life and Soul of
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all, especially for the carrying on of the Assassination.

While such Persons as these were endeavoring to incite the Presbyterians to Rebellion, the Episcopal Party was cajol'd by some of the Depos'd Bishops, or by certain Prelates that were sent as private Emisaries from King *James*. And the same design was also zealously promoted by some Clergy-men, who despair'd of Preferment under a Prince, who makes Merit and Virtue the only Objects of his Favor and Bounty. They were enrag'd to find themselves disappointed of the great Expectations they had conceiv'd in the preceding Reign, when the Government, designing to render the Church of *England* weak and contemptible, made want of Merit one of the principal Recommendations to Advancement. It must be acknowledg'd even by those who envy our present Happiness, that the constant Care which is taken to bestow the Benefices and Dignities of the Church upon the most deserving Persons, and to prefer the Desires of the People, in the choice of their Pastors, before
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the most pressing Solicitations of particular Persons, is one of the distinguishing Beauties of this Reign. The Merit of those who have been advanc'd to the Episcopal Function since the Revolution, is sufficient either to stop the Mouths, or baffle the Impudence of their most virulent Enemies: And 'tis known that these worthy Prelates are not only encourag'd, but enjoin'd to make a conscientious use of the Power with which they are entrusted, by virtue of their Office and Character to dispose of a considerable number of the Inferior Benefices. So that 'tis hard to imagine where the most impudent Malice can find a pretext to censure His Majesty's Conduct in this Point.

Nevertheless 'tis certain, that the Conspirators carry'd on their black Intrigues in all places, and among all sorts of Persons; and even were not asham'd to contradict themselves by endeavoring at once to persuade all the several Parties in the Kingdom that they had just cause of Complaint. They suggested to the Rigid Presbyterians, whose ungovern'd Zeal made 'em capable of such

such Impressions, that they ought not to support a Prince who protected the Church of *England*: And at the same time the Toleration he had granted to Dissenters, was made use of as a pretext to render him odious to the hottest Asserters of Episcopacy.

He had already given us a sufficient Intimation of his Sentiments in this Case, and of the Maxims he intended to pursue; when he declar'd in the beginning of his Reign, *That He wou'd be King of his People, and not of a Faction.* He lov'd moderate Persons in all Parties, and resolv'd to maintain all his Subjects Indifferently in the Possession of their Privileges and Properties. He wou'd never permit any Order or Set of Men to domineer over the rest of their Fellow Subjects; but suted his Maxims to the Free and Manly Genius of his People, who love to be Govern'd by Law. He is naturally inclin'd to Goodness and Clemency; and tho his Temper alone were not sufficient to secure us against uneasie Apprehensions, the Consideration of his Interest wou'd infallibly restrain him

him from abusing his Authority. The preceding Reign furnishes him with Instructing Examples, and his Virtue is confirm'd by the Faults of his Predecessor. He was advanc'd in opposition to Arbitrary Power, and can never consent to the abolishing of those Laws on which his Authority is founded: Nor can he endeavor to render himself absolute in one place, without ruining his Interest in another; for he is equally oblig'd to maintain the Laws of *England*, that he may preserve his Authority in *Holland*; and to preserve the Liberty of the *Dutch*, that he may maintain his Power among us. Never was the Interest, and Happiness of a Prince so inseparably united to that of his People; and never had Subjects less reason to be Jealous of the Authority of their Sovereign. This is unquestion'd Matter of Fact, a Truth that can neither be deny'd nor conceal'd; nor can the Conspirators themselves be suppos'd to be ignorant of it. And therefore, since they cannot discover, or so much as pretend to discover any Faults in His Majesty, to excuse their
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Malice against him, they endeavor'd, under the Shelter of his Virtues, to carry on their execrable Designs.

The Honesty and Integrity of his Temper makes him incapable of Jealousy or Distrust, and even seems to invite his Enemies to conspire against him. Besides, he has so great a regard to the Laws, that he will not suffer 'em to be violated under any pretext whatsoever; not even for the security of his Person and Government. And 'tis this which encourag'd the Conspirators to proceed with less Caution and Fear, as the Reader will easily perceive by the Continuation of the History of their Proceedings.

Lunt was very active in performing his Commission, and had made a considerable progress about the time when the *French* were expected in *England*. He had been at *London*, where he bought Arms, Carabins, Swords, Pistols, &c. which he sent to *Lancashire*. He had also listed Soldiers whom he sent to the same County; and had receiv'd Money for their Subsistence from the Lord *Molineux* and others. And by

1692. His Depositions are in the Hands of the Government.

his Diligence and Success he had insinuated himself so far into the Favor and Esteem of the Party, that he was sent back to *France*, about a Year after the Action at *La Hogue*. But, before I proceed to give an account of his Voyage and Return, it will not be improper to acquaint the Reader with the State and Disposition of the Court of *St. Germain's*, about the time of his Arrival there.

'Tis observable that the Policy of the Late King's Council has always consisted in altering their Measures according to the Circumstances of their Affairs. That this has been their constant practice, is plain from their Conduct at the beginning of the Revolution. For upon the News of the Preparations in *Holland*, he began to remove those instances of his Arbitrary Power that had render'd him odious to his People; but as soon as he receiv'd advice of the pretended Shipwrack of the *Dutch* Fleet, he repented his former design, and sent Counter-Orders to *Oxford*. Again, when he left the Kingdom, he endeavour'd to amuse us with
new

new Promises, which were industriously dispers'd among the People, both in *England* and *Scotland*: Particularly, to oblige the *Scotch* to support his falling Interest, he assur'd 'em, *That they and their Posterity shou'd see the Effect of the Promises which he had so often made 'em, to maintain their Religion, Liberty and Privileges.* But no looner was he at the Head of his Party in *Ireland*, and in a condition to pursue his old Maxims, than he seem'd to have lost the very remembrance of his Promises, and began immediately to persecute the Protestants. The Defeat of his Army made him afterwards change his note, and resume a Language of Sweetness and Moderation: But after the Preparations at *La Hogue* had reviv'd his sinking Hopes, he ventur'd once more to put off the Mask, and talk'd of nothing but Conquest and Revenge. At last there were two Parties form'd in his Court; and while one of 'em wou'd have engag'd him to oblige himself to preserve the Antient Laws of *England*, the other were still suggesting to him that 'twou'd be too mean a Condescension to

See his Letter to the Lords and Commons of that Kingdom, Dated from on board his Ship.

The History of the

enter into a Treaty with his Subjects. The two Cabals were headed by *Middleton* and *Melford*, who enjoy'd their Master's Favor by turns, and were successively entrusted with the Management of Affairs, according to the variety of his Circumstances.

When he fancy'd himself in a Condition to subdue the Nation by Force, *Melford* was his Favorite; but when the posture of his Affairs oblig'd him to have recourse to Flattery and Complaisance, *Middleton* was the principal Director of his Counsels. The Factions were directly opposite, and were distinguish'd both by their Names and Sentiments; for the *Middletonians* were usually known by the Name of *Compounders*, and the *Melfordians* had the Title of *No Compounders*.

Melford had still a Share in the Management of Affairs; but his Interest was sinking proportionably with the Hope of Conquering *England*, when, to recover his Credit, he contriv'd the Project of Assassinating his Majesty.

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He had already engag'd *Bromfield* and *Griffin*, who had their Correspondents in *England*. And upon *Lunt's* arrival, he propos'd the Design to him, engag'd him in it, and sent him to *Dover* to concert the means of executing it with Captain *Noel*, Captain *Walter*, Captain *Roberts*, *Pepper*, and *Preston*.

July 1693.

They had promis'd to Assassinate His Majesty, and even Sign'd an Obligation to that Effect: But after they had consulted with *Lunt* about the Means of Executing it, they were seiz'd with Horror and Remorse, and resolv'd to atone for their Crime by discovering it to the Council.

Decemb. 1693.

And that their Information might neither be slighted nor suspected, they made use of one *Taff*, who not long before had done a considerable Service to the Government, and consequently was neither unknown nor unwelcome at Court. By this Man *Lunt* was introduc'd, and had an opportunity to make his Discovery. Some time after the Council sent 'em both to *Lancashire* with Captain *Ba-*

July 1694.

ker to seize and convict the Conspirators in that County.

The Search and Prosecution continu'd several Months with various Success. The Accus'd Persons, whose Names 'tis thought fit to conceal, absconded as soon as they were inform'd of the Discovery, and the Design that was on Foot to bring 'em to Justice. In the mean time their Houses were search'd, and in them were found Saddles, Swords, Carabines, great Quantities of Powder and Bullets, Standards, a Commission from King James, &c.

At the Trial at Manchester, Octob. 17. 1694. the Witnesses depos'd, *That the Persons whom they accus'd had receiv'd Commissions from the late King to Levy Troops; that they had listed Soldiers, and form'd 'em into Bodies, with a Design to assist the French after their Landing; that the Papists in Lancashire contributed for the Subsistence of these Troops; that they were furnish'd with Officers, Arms, and all sorts of Ammunition for war, &c. But an unexpected Accident put a stop to the further Discovery of the Conspiracy, and sav'd the Traitors from*

from the just Punishment of their Crimes.

They had Money to offer, and consequently cou'd neither want Friends nor Protection. The First whom they gain'd was *Taff*: He had been well rewarded for his late Service, and expected a new Recompence for this Discovery, tho he had contributed nothing towards it, but the Assistance and Testimony which he gave to the Discoverer. The disappointment of his Hopes made him listen to the advantageous Offers of the Faction, and resolve to save his new Masters at the expence of his own Reputation; for he was not asham'd to declare that the *Lancashire* Plot was a Fiction concerted betwixt *Lunt* and himself, to Ruine some Gentlemen in that County. This Declaration was follow'd by Objections that were made against the Witnesses. They were accus'd of Corruption and Misdemeanors; some of the Judges were preingag'd and possess'd with groundless prejudices against 'em, and care was taken to disguise the whole Affair to the

Sir William Council. The Witnesses were re-
 Williams took presented in the blackest Colors that
 Post for Lon- Artful Malice cou'd invent, and com-
 don immediate- mitted to *Newgate* upon suspicion of
 ly after Taff's Declaration, having Conspir'd against the Lives
 and gave a hor- and Honor of the *Lancashire* Gen-
 rible Character of the Witnesses; tlemen.
 having obsti-
 nately refus'd to
 hear any thing that was offer'd to be alledg'd in their Favor, or to
 comply with some of the Judges who wou'd have proceeded to the Exami-
 nation of other Witnesses.

The Affair was afterwards brought before both Houses of Parliament, who heard the Witnesses, and others who gave in new Informations. Some of 'em discover'd the secret Treaty betwixt *Taff* and the Conspirators; and all of 'em justify'd *Junt* and his Accusation. And after a full Hearing and Examination, that lasted about six Weeks or two Months, 'twas declar'd by both Houses, *That there had been a horrible Conspiracy against their Majesties Life and Government, &c.*

See the Votes of the House of Commons on that occasion.

This Vote was an Illustrious Testimony that the Witnesses were not only Innocent, but merited the Thanks of the Nation; yet the Prejudice of those who ought to have protected 'em,

'em, and the Interest of the Faction they had offended, were so great, that the Resolutions of a whole Parliament cou'd neither put a stop to their Prosecution, nor procure 'em a fair Trial. They were indicted at the *Lancashire* Assizes, and, by the prevailing Force of the secret Springs that were employ'd against 'em, were found Guilty of Perjury.

Thus, by an unhappy and preposterous Turn, the Criminals were become Witnesses, and the horrible Conspiracy against Their Majesties was reduc'd to a Conspiracy against Traitors.

But their Artifices were at last defeated, and Truth prevail'd over the Power and Treachery of its Enemies. The Discoverers asserted their Innocency by the Testimony of Forty new Witnesses: The *Lancashire* Gentlemen cou'd not prove their Allegations, and those who were Guilty of no other Crime than endeavoring to serve the Government, were sent away with assurances of a suitable Recompence.

In the mean time tho the Conspirators cou'd not succeed in their
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1695.

main design of discrediting the Witnesses; they had spread such a Mist upon the whole Affair that they hop'd they might easily conceal their Intrigues for the future from the less penetrating part of Mankind. The Discoveries that had been made were imperfect and controverted; and serv'd only to give us a new instance of the difference betwixt the King and his Enemies. He was so far from imitating either the Arbitrary Violence, or Ungenerous Politics of some Princes in *Europe*, that he openly protect'd those who had Conspir'd against his Life, so long as there was the least appearance of Reason to doubt of their Guilt. So dear is the Life or Honor of a Subject to a King, that is (what every Sovereign ought to be) the Father of his Country.

On the other hand, the Conspirators endeavor'd to prevent a new alarm, by the Death of those whom they suspected. For, not to repeat what has been said concerning *Kelly*, *Dodsworth* was kill'd by two *Jacobite* Brothers after he had discover'd what he knew of the Conspiracy:
And

And *Redman* was Murder'd two days after he had communicated his design to one who betray'd him.

While the *Jacobites* in *Lancashire* were pursuing their beloved Project, of destroying the Nation, with so much Heat and Diligence; their Friends in *London* were continually forming new Designs against His Majesty's Life.

When *Parker* came to *England*, to execute the Orders he had receiv'd from his Master, he entertain'd an intimate Correspondence with *Porter* and *Goodman*, Two of the most zealous Instruments and Promoters of the Treasonable Designs of the Parry. The First was born a Gentleman, and a Protestant; but had spent his Estate, and renounc'd his Religion. The other was a Comedian by Profession, and had been formerly Try'd for endeavouring to Poyson the Dukes of *Northumberland* and *St. Albans*; but either his Interest, Innocency, or Subtilty had sav'd him from the Punishment that is due to such a Crime. *Parker* gave 'em the Two First Companies in his Regiment, with a large

*Goodman's
Deposition, A-
pril 24. 1696.*

a large share in his Confidence, and in the secrets of the Faction; but wou'd never acquaint 'em with some of the most Mysterious Circumstances of the Design. He order'd 'em to take a House in, or near *London*, with large Stables, fit to lodge and accommodate Fifty or Sixty Horses; that they might be in a condition to receive the Troops of Horse, that, from time to time, were to pass thro' *London*, in their March to the Place of Rendezvous. This is the account he thought fit to give them; but if we consider what happen'd both before and afterwards, 'twill perhaps appear to be more than a bare conjecture, that, since the Design to Assassinate His Majesty was then on Foot, these measures were taken to Facilitate the Execution of it.

His Imprisonment diverted his Thoughts to other Objects, and found new Employment for his Friends; among whom, *Charnock* and *Harrison*, deserve a particular Remembrance. The First, who went also by the Name of *Robinson*, was Born and Educated a Protestant, but

but chang'd his Religion, to Merit the Late King's Favour; which was the sure Reward of those that were willing to deliver up their Conscience, as a Pledge of their Loyalty. He and another, were the only Persons who comply'd with King *James's* Order to *Magdalen* College; and his Complaisance, on that Occasion, procur'd him the Dignity of Vice-President. But when Honest Men began to recover what they had lost; 'twas fit that Persons of another Character shou'd loose what they had gotten: The Laws that were Re-establish'd by the Revolution, render'd him incapable of enjoying his Place, and by depriving him of his new Preferment, made him an Enemy to the Government, both by Interest, and Resentment. He had an equal Aversion to the Laws, to the People, and to their Deliverer; for after he had incurr'd the Hatred of his Countrey-Men, he thought he cou'd neither recover his Reputation, nor Fortune, but by destroying their Liberty.

Harrison,

*This agrees
with the Cha-
racter, that
Brice Blair,
gives of him,
in his Deposi-
tions.*

Harrison, alias *Johnson*, was a Priest, who, for a considerable time, had been entrusted with the Management of King *James's* Affairs. He was a Violent *Melfordian*; an Active and Zealous Agent of the Party, and so far from being troubl'd with the Scruples, and Checks of a tender Conscience; that he never look'd upon any thing as Difficult or Criminal, that might serve to promote the Interest of the Faction. He had entertain'd a long Correspondence with *Melfort*; who lost his Credit at the Court of *St. Germain's*, upon the miscarriage of the intended Invasion; for, as we observ'd before, 'twas the constant Practice of the Late King's Council, in such junctures, to advance *Middleton*, in Complaisance to the *Protestant Jacobites*.

*Goodman's
Deposition, April 2d, 1696.*

After *Melford's* Disgrace; *Harrison* chose *Caryl*, the Late Queen's Secretary, for his Correspondent. He was the Instrument of Delivering Colonel *Parker* out of the Tower; which was an Important Service to the Party. He agreed with those, who suffer'd him to make his

his Escape, for Five Hundred Pounds; Three hundred of which were paid, and the rest promis'd.

Charnock and *Harrison*, were look'd upon by the Court at *St. Germain's*, as Persons in whom they might place an Entire Confidence. The Project of Assassinating the King was, doubtless, Communicated to 'em by *Parker*; who is thought to be the first Contriver of it. Those who are engag'd in such Barbarous Designs, endeavor to find a sort of Justification, or Excuse, in the Atrocity of their Guilt. Every new Crime stretches their Conscience, to make room for a Sin of a larger Size, and Emboldens 'em both to Contrive and Commit the most Horrible Villanies. Nor is it probable, that he conceal'd the Design from *Porter* and *Goodman*, with whom, both before, and after his Imprisonment, he entertain'd an Intimate Correspondence. However, 'tis certain, that these Four Men, were either the first Contrivers of the Project, or at least consulted about the most proper Ways, to put it in Execution,

cution, after it was Communicated to 'em.

At first, they only mention'd, the Seizing of the King, and the carrying of him to *France*; either because they had no other Intention at that time; or because they fancy'd that even the Faintest Sense of Honor and Vertue, might make the Conspirators, reject the startling Proposal of an Assassination.

'Tis plain from their Proceedings afterwards, that their seeming Moderation, on this Occasion, was not the effect of any Inclination they had to spare His Majesty's Life. That Barbarous Design was propos'd, under several, and very different Notions, according to the Characters of those to whom it was Communicated: They usually contented themselves, with mentioning the carrying away of the King, when they imparted the Project, to those in whom they found some unextinguish'd Sparks of Honor; but they scrupl'd not to own the Assassination in the broadest Terms to those who, they perceiv'd, were transported by a brutish and ungovern'd Fury.

ry. Yet even those who had made the greatest progress in putting off all Humanity cou'd not forbear discovering the inward Horror that rack'd their guilty Consciences. Their Minds were so agitated by a Sense of the Enormity of their Crime, that they cou'd not fix upon the Way of executing it. Sometimes they concluded *that the quickest way to bring in King James, and restore him to his Crown was, by knocking King William on the Head*: Sometimes they resolv'd to hurry the King away to Rumney-Marsh, and from thence to carry him over to France; And in some of their Consults 'twas determin'd to carry him-alive into France if they cou'd, if they cou'd not take him alive then to Assassinate him, and pretend it was done by a Random Shot.

Brice Blair was one of the first to whom they communicated the Design. He was a *Scotch-Man* by Birth, and educated a Presbyterian, but afterwards turn'd Papist. All the Time he had spent in the Service cou'd not procure him a higher Post than that of a Lieutenant; and therefore

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The History of the

he resolv'd to take a nearer (tho a more indirect) way to Preferment. Yet neither his Religion nor Ambition cou'd make him so much an Enemy to Honor and Virtue, as to be a fit Companion for the Conspirators. He was never present at those Consults where 'twas examin'd whether the Assassination, or the Carrying away of the King was the *quickest or surest way to bring in King James and restore him to his Crown*; for when *Charnock* propos'd the Design to him by the least odious name, he rejected it in such a manner that they durst never mention it to him afterwards.

Brice Blair's
Deposition,
March 13th.
1696.

Goodman's
Deposition, A-
pril 24th. 1696

Not long after *Porter* and *Goodman* communicated the Project to Sir *George Barclay*, who was then in *England*, and just ready to go over to *France*. They desir'd him to acquaint King *James* with their Design, that, if he approv'd it, he might send 'em a Commission with a Pardon included in it.

Goodman's
Deposition, A-
pril 24th. 1696

It seems *Barclay* did not send 'em the Commission they expected: But, some time after, *Charnock* told *Goodman* that there was an Order to seize the

the Prince of *Orange*, for so they usually call'd his Majesty. Upon this advice a Consult was held, where *Charnock* produc'd one *Waugh* that was lately come from *France*, who told 'em that he expected a Commission to seize the King. This was look'd upon as a sufficient Encouragement to set all their Engines at Work in order to a vigorous prosecution of the Grand Design. They held Meeting after Meeting to concert the Methods of executing it: In these Consults some of the Conspirators acquainted the rest with the Intelligence they had at *Deal*, where they resolv'd to secure a Vessel. To this Effect they sent for a Man who offer'd to furnish 'em with one, but dismiss him because they cou'd not agree about the Price. Then they resum'd their Debates about the Commission; but since they had none to produce, they broke up without coming to a Conclusion.

Captain Porter's Deposition.
April 24th.
1696.

Goodman's Deposition, April 24. 1696.

Some days after, *Charnock*, *Porter* and *Waugh* met at *Brentford*, where they consulted about the Ways of executing the Attempt. They view'd the Ground, consider'd the Houses

Capt. Porter's
Deposition, A-
pril 15. 1696.

where they shou'd place their Men, and waited till his Majesty shou'd return from *Richmond*, that they might observe the Guards who accompany'd him, and his usual Way of Travelling.

Larüe's Deposi-
tion, February
26th. 1696.

They continu'd their Meetings during the Months of *January*, *February* and *March* 169 $\frac{4}{5}$; and in one of their Consults at the *Mitre-Tavern* in *St. James's Market*, the Design was communicated to *Larüe*, whom they look'd upon as a Person entirely devoted to the Faction, because he had suffer'd a long and tedious Imprisonment upon suspicion of holding Intelligence with the Enemies of the Government. He embrac'd the proposal, and perhaps was really willing to be engag'd in it; tho, if we reflect upon the Manner and Circumstances of his Discovery, it may be presum'd that he only seem'd to comply with 'em, that the Confidence they plac'd in him might enable him to acquaint the Government with the dark Intrigues of its treacherous Enemies.

The Conspirators were all the while kept in Expectation of a Commission,

mission, which was retarded by several Accidents. *waugh* had told King *James* that the Earl of *Arran* and the Lord *Forbes* were willing to be concern'd in the Design to carry away the King; but when he attempted to discourse with 'em on that Subject, after his return from *France*, they both refus'd to have any thing to do with him.

Capt. Porter's
Deposition, A-
pril 15. 1696

'Twas reported among the Conspirators, that the News of this Disappointment stop'd the sending of the Commission, which was already Sign'd, and expected by every post. And besides, there was one *Crosby* who went to *France*, and talk'd to freely and particularly of the Design'd Attempt, that 'twas plain he was better acquainted with the secrets of the Faction, than they either imagin'd or desir'd. *Parker* wrote, upon this occasion, to *Porter* and *Godman*, who assur'd him that they had never communicated the Design to *Crosby*: However it seems the Court of *St. Germain's* were so alarm'd by this and other Accidents, that they resolv'd to be more cautious and reserv'd for the Future.

Capt. Porter's
Deposition, A-
pril 15. 1696.

In the mean time the Conspirators were so afraid of losing the present Opportunity, that they resolv'd to pursue the Design, without expecting a Commission. To this end they provided Men, Arms and Horses; but wanted a Vessel to Transport the King to *France*, if it shou'd be resolv'd to carry him away, or to facilitate their own Escape, if they shou'd agree upon the Assassination, and therefore, to supply that Defect, *Charnock* was sent to *Deal*, with Recommendations to a Captain of Horse, who was acquainted with the Design; and *La Rue* was appointed to accompanie him. But their Measures were entirely broken by the unexpected haste of the Kings Departure for the *Netherlands*.

When they saw they had lost the Opportunity of executing their Design upon His Majesties Person; they resum'd the Project of the Invasion.

They entertain'd private Emissaries in all the Parts of the Kingdom, who made it their business to studie the Inclinations, and pry into the Affairs of the People; that
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they might afterwards attack 'em on the Weak Side, and strengthen the Faction by the Addition of a Promiscuous Multitude of all sorts of Persons,

By this means they engag'd a confus'd Medley of Disaffected Persons: And besides, they depended upon the Assistance of all the bigotted Papists, and a considerable number of pretended Protestants; all the Creatures of the Late Reign, those who had lost either their Employments or Expectations by the Revolution, all the Promoters of Arbitrary Power, several Officers of the Army that was dispers'd at *Salisbury*, and some Souldiers, who preferr'd a Seditious Idleness, and the Ignoble Dangers of Plotting, before the Honourable Occasions of acquiring Glory in the Field.

The whole Design was carried on by a Set of Men, who had either lost, or never had, a Sense of Honour and Vertue; who look'd upon the Laws and Religion, as Vain and Empty Names, and acted as if their Private Interest, and the Recompences they expected had been a

sufficient security for the Public Safety: Men who had neither Reputation to loose, nor Estates to live upon; who were equally Indigent and Idle, and were neither able to endure the usual Hardships of Poverty, nor willing to prevent 'em by an honest Industry: Turbulent and Restless Spirits, who delight in Tumults and Confusion, and repine at the Quiet of their Neighbors; and, as a worthy Reinforcement to the Cabal, those who were not fit to appear in better Company, I mean, such as were suspected of Cowardice. For as no Man has contributed more than his Majesty to bring Valor into Credit and Fashion, 'tis his Fate to be extremely hated by Cowards, as he is generally respected, and in a manner ador'd by the Brave. Those who have the Courage to aspire to Glory, Admire an Example which they can never Imitate; and never was any Prince so Belov'd by his own Army, or so Esteem'd by that of his Enemies.

There were two sorts of Persons in whom the Conspirators plac'd a par-

particular Confidence, the New Converts and the Libertines whom they had drawn into the Party; those who had either no Religion, or had embrac'd that of the Faction. For they concluded that such Persons as these wou'd always be ready to engage in a Design, that tended to the Destruction of all Honest and Good Men.

'Twas one of their principal Stratagems to cry down Religion in general; because they were sensible that the love of our Religion kept us inseparably united to a Prince that had preserv'd it. And at the same time they left no means unattempted to weaken and divide our Church: For on the one hand, they endeavor'd to introduce a Remissness and Indifferency in Matters of Religion; and on the other, they made it their business to foment our Differences about certain new Opinions, exasperating the Zeal of our Orthodox Divines by Artifices that need not be mention'd in this place.

They endeavor'd to insinuate themselves into the confidence of those
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who seem'd to be dissatisfy'd with the Court; and oftentimes made use of 'em as Tools for the carrying on of a Design of which they were wholly ignorant.

They admitted all that were willing to be engag'd, but were more than ordinarily careful to draw in those who might be useful to the Faction; flattering the Interest of some, and the Ambition of others, and enticing both with small Presents and large Promises.

*This appears
by Capt. Por-
rer's Deposition,
April 15th.
1696.*

They endeavor'd to corrupt the Officers of the Fleet, Army and Militia; and tamper'd with the Clerks and Secretaries of those who either were, or had been employ'd in Eminent Posts under the Government, that by their means they might get Intelligence of such things as they were desirous to know. Thus they obtain'd an Account of the Naval Forces of one, and a List of the Army of another.

'Twould be an endless Labor to relate all their Contrivances and Machinations; and therefore I shall content my self with taking notice of their General Maxims.

They

They were sensible that the *English* are generally possess'd with a natural Antipathy against the *French*; that we had been for a long time under perpetual Apprehensions of the growing Power of those incroaching Neighbors, and that our Jealousy and Aversion were extremely heighten'd since the beginning of the War. And therefore to divert our Hatred and Suspicion to another Object, they endeavor'd to possess us with an ill-grounded Jealousy of the *Dutch*. To this end, they were still putting us in mind of the dangers to which we expos'd our selves, by depending upon the Friendship of a Nation, that was wholly compos'd of Presbyterians and Republicans; without considering that their being so makes it their Interest that we shou'd never imitate their Example; since their Provinces wou'd be quickly abandon'd, if their People cou'd find in this Kingdom the Religion, Discipline and Government to which they are inclin'd by Birth and Education. For 'tis very natural to suppose, that if these Impediments were remov'd,

.. Inhabitants of such a Country

as *Holland*, wou'd embrace with Joy the inviting Opportunity of living in a Fertile and Pleasant Land, where they might securely enjoy all the Comforts and Conveniencies of Life, with infinitely less trouble and pains, and without the Disadvantage of paying Taxes in time of Peace; and to which they might easily transport both their Trade and Estates.

Another of their detestable Contrivances was to make us forget, or, at least, to lessen our Esteem for our Deliverer. 'Twas for this Reason they usually call'd him the *Dutch Prince*, and sometimes had the impudence to speak of him in base and scurrilous Terms; as when, at one of their Traiterous Meetings, they squeez'd an Orange, and drank a health *to the Destruction of the squeez'd and rotten Orange*.

'Twas thus they were not ashamed to treat a Prince who sav'd *Europe* by his Courage and Resolution, who inspires his Armies with Valor by his own inimitable Example, and has made his Subjects Masters of the Sea, and Arbiters of the Christian World.

A Prince to whom we owe all the hopes we can reasonably entertain, of an honorable and advantageous Peace; and who has rais'd the Glory of the Nation to its Ancient Reputation and Splendor.

Sometimes they affected a seeming Zeal for the Public Good, that they might have an opportunity to exclaim against the necessary Charge of the War. Those who were best acquainted with the Interest of the Nation, and most concern'd to promote it, had often demonstrated, what common Sense suggests to every considering Person, That the Expending of our Money, on this occasion, is the best Instance we can give of our Frugality; That 'tis both our Duty and Interest to give away part, that the whole may be preserv'd; That His Majesty's Predecessors might, easily, and with little charge, have stopp'd the progress of their ambitious Neighbor; That 'tis their Fault we are now oblig'd to pay so dear for our Preservation; That if the *French* were Masters of the *Netherlands*, the present Taxes wou'd not be sufficient for our necessary Defence; That if

Hol-

Holland were also added to their Conquests, the unavoidable Charge of the War wou'd be still greater; And that, at last, when we shou'd have no Allies to support us, we must infallibly become a Prey to the Insolent Cruelty of our Enemies, and for ever groan under the insupportable Yoke of Popery and Slavery.

Such Reflections as these were made by several wise and judicious Persons, and inculcated with all the force of Reason and Eloquence; but 'twas in vain to hope that Reason wou'd have any Influence upon those who were resolv'd to stop their Ears against it, and made it their business to hinder others from hearing it. The Conspirators, with their usual Impudence, continu'd still to insist upon an Objection that had been so often and so unanswerably confuted; amusing the People with perpetual Murmurings and Complaints, and imagining that the groundless Apprehensions, which they endeavor'd to raise in the Minds of the unwary Croud, wou'd, by degrees, make 'em lose the Remembrance of the
Real

Real and Terrible Dangers that threaten'd 'em in the preceding Reign.

But the subtlest and most dangerous of all their Artifices, was that by which they cunningly impos'd upon the heedless Credulity of some Persons; who neither approv'd their Principles nor Practices. For 'tis certain that the Party of those who really long for the Establishment of Arbitrary Power and the Destruction of the Protestant Religion, is in it self very small and inconsiderable, and wou'd be eternally the Weakest, if it were not augmented and supported by an unthinking Multitude who suffer themselves to be led they know not whither. This may be properly call'd, *The Listing of Tools for the Service of the Faction.*

At first, to cajole the Church-Party, they employ'd the Interest they had at Court, in some of the preceding Reigns, to raise a Persecution against the Dissenters; but their seeming Zeal for the Preservation of the Church that is establish'd by Law was so little to be depended on, that,
even

even then, they had titular Prelates, who were actually engag'd in a Conspiracy against the Nation, and only waited for a favorable opportunity, to dispossess the Protestant Bishops, In the late Reign they seem'd to alter their Measures, and began to court the *Non-Conformists*, that all the Sects in the Kingdom might think themselves oblig'd, both by Gratitude and Interest, to support a Government that protected 'em. By this unexpected appearance of Tenderness they insinuated themselves into the good Opinion of a considerable Number of the *Dissenters*, who desir'd no more than a Toleration to Worship God after their own Fashion: But while these deluded People were expressing their Thankfulness to the Court in fulsom and extravagant Addresses; those very Persons who appear'd to be the most zealous Promoters of a Liberty of Conscience here, employ'd all their Interest to enflame the Persecution in *France*, and were perpetually soliciting that Monarch to compleat the Ruine of his Protestant Subjects.

Since

Since the Revolution, it has been the constant Endeavor of the Faction to engage those who are always uneasy in time of War, by reason of the Charge and Inconveniencies that attend it: But in this, as in all other Projects and Contrivances, they were so far from making good their Pretensions to a hearty Zeal for the Good of their Country, that they made two desperate Attempts to deliver it up to the Revenge of an incens'd Enemy.

At present they take advantage of the dangerous Folly of those who are still wishing for a Peace, without considering either the Terms or Consequences of it. They believe, or at least wou'd make us believe, that every Man is a declar'd Enemy to a Peace, who desires that it may be solid and advantageous. They wou'd fain perswade us that 'tis the King who opposes it; tho they are sensible we cannot be ignorant, that 'tis his principal Care, as well as his Interest and Glory, to procure the Quiet and Happiness of *Europe*. The main Drift of these pernicious Insinuations is either to render His Ma-

H

jesty

jeſty odious to thoſe who are unacquainted with their Devices; or, by a treacherous and ill-ſecur'd Peace, to make way for a Fatal and Bloody War, againſt thoſe very Perſons whom they now amuſe with a pretended Zeal for the Intereſt of their Country. For ſuch wou'd be the diſmal and inevitable Conſequences of their falſe Politics, if the King and Parliament wou'd renounce their wonted Prudence in complaiſance either to Fools or Knaves.

It muſt be acknowledg'd that we cannot, without Injuſtice, pronounce an equally ſevere Sentence upon all who promote the deſigns of the Faction. For 'tis certain there are a conſiderable number of deluded and unthinking Perſons, who ſuffer themſelves to be led by thoſe who are Superior to 'em both in Wit and Malice. But tho the ſimplicity of ſuch undeſigning Tools may in ſome meaſure extenuate their Guilt; their obſtinacy makes 'em as Dangerous as the fierceſt and moſt deſperate Traitors. For when one does what he can to deſtroy the Laws, Religion, and Liberty of his Country,

try, the Honesty of his Intention can never atone for the fatal Consequences of his Error.

This Reflexion wou'd perhaps carry me beyond the Limits of my intended Moderation, if I were not resolv'd to give the most favorable Treatment that can be allow'd to to those for whom His Majesty retains a Paternal Affection, notwithstanding their repeated Provocations. In imitation of so generous an Example, all possible care shall be taken, to spare the Names of those, whose Crimes have not already render'd 'em incapable of such a Favor.

Among these notorious Criminals, we may justly reckon Sir *William Parkins*, Sir *John Friend* and Sir *John Fenwick*. The First was bred a Lawyer, and never had so much as the Name of a Soldier, till he was made an Officer by King *James*. He was treated by the Court at *Sr. Germain's*, with a more than ordinary Civility: They told him that they expected great things from him; and 'tis probable he expected great Rewards from them. At first he had only a

King James wrote several Letters to him with his own Hand.

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Troop

Troop in *Parker's* Regiment; but since they knew he had an Estate, they quickly put him in a way to spend it, by sending him a Commission to Levy a Regiment of Horse.

Sir *John Friend* was a Citizen and Brewer of *London*, oblig'd to the late King for an advantageous Place in the Excise. However, tho he was dissatisfy'd with the Revolution, and refus'd to comply with the present Government, he seem'd at first unwilling to engage in any Plot or Conspiracy against it. The little Sense he had was sufficient to convince him, that 'twas not his Business to reform the Works of Providence, and much less to declare himself an Enemy to his Religion and Country. But neither his Judgment nor Conscience was able to resist his Vanity, which was strong enough to make him sacrifice both, for an empty Complement. They show'd him a Letter from *Melfort*, by which it appear'd that King *James* plac'd a great deal of Confidence in him; and the poor Man was even ravish'd with Joy at his Old Master's Kindness.

Brice Blair in
his Depositions.

ness. He wrote a Letter to King *James*, and receiv'd so obliging an Answer, that, to express his Gratitude, he resolv'd to spend a good part of his Estate in his Service. In pursuance of this Resolution, he advanc'd considerable sums of Money, upon several occasions, which were pay'd in Parchment, a sort of Coin that pass'd currantly among Persons of Sir *John Friena's* Character, tho its intrinsic Value was scarce equal to that of the *Irish* Brass-Money. Sir *John* receiv'd a Commission to be Colonel of Horse, and *Brice Blair*, whom the Party employ'd to draw him in, was made his Lieutenant-Colonel. The First had an Estate, and the Second was a Soldier; Sir *John* was to be at the Charge of raising the Men, and *Blair* was to instruct him in the Duties of his new Occupation. Besides, *Ferguson* was one of Sir *John's* particular Friends, by whose Agency he endeavor'd to draw in the Presbyterians: And he was so confident of the success of that Negotiation, that he promis'd to bring a considerable Number of 'em to meet the Late

Bertram's Deposition March
3. 1695.

King at his Landing. He entertain'd also an intimate Correspondence with *Harrison*, and the Popish Rebels in some Counties, with whom he was ready to joyn in the intended Massacre of the Protestants; tho, after all, if we may take his own Word for't, he had the good Fortune to dye a Martyr for the Church and Religion of *England*.

Sir *John Fenwick* is a Man of Quality, and had a considerable Estate. He was a Colonel in the *English* Troops, that were formerly sent to the Assistance of the *Dutch*; and 'tis said that he was either dismiss'd from the Service, or quitted it upon some disgust. His disgrace in *Holland* serv'd to recommend him to the *English* Court, and procur'd him the place of a Lieutenant in the late King's Guards. Since the Revolution, he has spar'd neither pains nor cost to promote that Prince's interest; and as a Mark of his Zeal and Fidelity, undertook to Levy a Regiment of Horse for his Service. Yet tho the very Name he bears is odious to Protestants, tho his Relations are Papists, and his Brother a Priest, and tho

tho he was always distinguish'd by the peculiar confidence which the Faction plac'd in him; among all the Informations I have yet had occasion to see, there are none that charge him with having any hand in the Conspiracy against His Majesty's Person: But either his Confession or Trial will soon unrid-
dle the Mystery, and clear all our doubts concerning him.

*Capt. Porter's
Deposition,
March 3. 1695.*

These Three Men were each of 'em to Levy a Regiment of Horse, and one *Tempest* of *Durham* had a Commission to raise one of Dragoons. Besides, they depended on *Parker's* Regiment; for tho the Colonel was in *France*, there were Commissions actually distributed to raise the Troops. These were the Five Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, which the Conspirators boasted they had in *England*. They expected also a Body of Horse from *Lancashire*, where a considerable number of Papists were still in a readiness to March to the Rendezvous. Sir *John Friend* entertain'd a Correspondence with 'em, and pay'd 'em Subistence-Money, either upon his own account, or by Order, And

*La Rue's De-
position, Febru.
26. 1695.*

'twas by the Assistance of these Imaginary Forces, that the Conspirators fancy'd themselves in a Condition to undertake the Conquest of Great Britain.

*The Earl of
Aylesbury,
and Sir John
Friend.*

Some of 'em wou'd have perswaded the Faction to try their Fortune with their own Forces, without waiting for the Assistance they expected from *France*. They had taken so many Ways to prepare the Dispositions of the People, that they concluded 'em to be generally ripe for an Insurrection. Besides, the King was in *Flanders* with his Army; and the Conspirators were not much afraid of the small Number of standing Forces that were left for the Defence of the Kingdom. And as Ten Seditious and Disaffected Persons make a greater Bustle than Ten Thousand Men who live in Quiet; so the *Jacobites*, who are scarce a Handful to the Honest Party in the Kingdom, make as much noise as all the rest of the Nation.

The Impunity of their Crimes lessen'd their Remorse for 'em, and the Clemency of the Government encourag'd 'em to conspire against it;

it; but since 'twou'd have been a difficult Task to bubble a whole Nation, or to make 'em Actors in their own Destruction, the Design of conquering *England* by an *English* Army was rejected as impracticable; and the Conspirators found themselves oblig'd to depend upon the Assistance of the *French*.

'Twas about the end of *May*, or the beginning of *July*, 1695. that some of the most considerable Persons of the Faction met to deliberate about the present posture of their Affairs. The Earl of *Aylesbury*, the Lord *Montgomery*, Son to the Marquess of *Powis*, Sir *John Friend*, Sir *William Parkins*, *Charnock*, *Porter*, *Goodman*, *Cook*, &c. were present at a Consult which was held at the *Old King's-Head Tavern* in *Lenden-Hall-Street*; where they agreed to send *Charnock* with a Message to King *James*, entreating him to procure Eight Thousand Foot, a Thousand Horse, and a Thousand Dragoons from the *French* King.

Charnock accepted the Commission, but desir'd to know what number of Forces he might offer in their Names;

*Capt. Porter's
Deposition,
March 14.
1695.*

*Goodman's
Deposition, A-
pril 24. 1696.*

Names ; upon which they promis'd to meet King *James* at the Head of Two Thousand Horse, as soon as they shou'd receive the News of his Landing.

This was but a small Force for so great an Undertaking ; tho it will appear to be much above the Strength of the Faction, if we consider the Ways they took to Levy and Sublist their secret Militia. They tamper'd, indifferently, with all Indigent and Scandalous Persons, especially the Officers and Soldiers who had contributed, in *Ireland*, to the Oppression of the Protestants, or, in *England*, to the Subversion of the Laws. They gave Money to the poorer Sort for their present Subsistence, but kept 'em still in a necessitous Condition, that they might be oblig'd to depend upon the Party.

They endeavor'd to engage the Officers, by Flattering 'em with Hopes of Preferment ; making the Ensigns Captains, and promising Regiments to those who were Captains before. For 'tis neither Reason nor Justice, but Licentiousness and Disorder, that advance the Designs of a Faction.

Of

Of their Troopers, some had Money to buy Horses, but there were few of this Number; some reckon'd to borrow 'em upon occasion, and others resolv'd to take 'em where they could find 'em.

Sir *John Fenwick* was the Author of the last of these Projects; for, instead of rendering themselves suspected by providing a great number of Horses, he advis'd 'em, when the Design shou'd be ripe for Execution, to seize on all the Horses they cou'd find, in, or about *London*. And this Advice was so well lik'd by the Conspirators, that some of 'em took care to take a List of the Horses.

Goodman's
Deposition, A-
pril 24. 1696.

Nor was this meerly the Effect of Sir *John Fenwick's* Prudence; for he had already been so Liberal a Benefactor to the Faction, that he found himself oblig'd to moderate his Expences for the Future. His Creditors, to whom he had resign'd his Estate, allow'd him an Annuity, which was sufficient for his Subsistence, but not for carrying on his Designs.

Sir *John Friend* was almost in the same condition; for he had advanc'd such

Brice Blair's
Deposition,
March 16.
1695.

such considerable Summs for the subsistence of his Men, that he was afraid, if the Design of the Invasion shou'd miscarry, he shou'd not have enough left to carry on his Trade.

Sir *William Parkins* had also put himself to a considerable Charge, tho he had bought but Thirty Horses, which was a meer Trifle in comparison to the Number he wanted. And besides, the Arms he had provided wou'd not have furnish'd the

Sweets's Deposition, March
18. 1695.

La Rue's Deposition, Febr.
26. 1695.

James Ewbanks's Deposition, March
23. 1695.

Twentieth part of his Regiment: however they were more than he durst own, and therefore he was forc'd to hide 'em in the Country.

To conclude, they cou'd not but foresee that those whom they had drawn in by supplying their present Necessities, wou'd not be so ready to encounter the apparent Dangers of the Attempt, as they were to offer their Service.

'Tis plain from these Remarks that 'twou'd have been a hard Task for the Conspirators to make good their Promise, to meet the Late King at the Head of Two Thousand Horse. Besides, the Charge of carrying on the Design was too heavy for

for those that were engag'd in it; their Money was spent in useless Preparations, and a longer Delay wou'd have been as dangerous as a rash and preposterous Haste.

Charnock was a Man of too much Sense, and too well acquainted with the Strength of the Faction, to rely upon the Promises they had made him: And therefore he desir'd another Meeting, which was held at a Tavern near Sir *John Fenwick's* Lodgings, and consisted of the same Persons that were present at the former, except the Lord *Montgomery*. There *Charnock* desir'd to know whether they were resolv'd to make good their proposals, and upon the new Assurances they gave him, he undertook the Commission, and some days after, embark'd for *France*.

But the late King's Council did not think fit to Answer their Expectations: For the Design was not yet ripe for Execution, nor their Affairs, either in *England* or *France*, in such a Posture as they desir'd.

They had sounded the Inclinations of the Parliament, People and Army; and by several vain Attempts
had

had endeavor'd to debauch their Fidelity. 'Twas their Interest and Desire that either the whole Army, or a considerable part of it, shou'd be disbanded by the Parliament, that there might not be a sufficient number of standing Forces left, to oppose the Conspirators.

To this end, their Emissaries were instructed to exaggerate the unavoidable Inconveniencies of the War, and to perswade the People, and especially their Representatives, that 'twou'd be necessary to encrease our Naval Force, for the security of our Trade, and at the same time to lessen an Army that was useful to Foreigners, but only chargeable to our Selves. How is the Nation cheated, was their usual Cant, and what occasion is there for so vast an Expence, as if so brave a Fleet were not sufficient to defend us? How are we degenerated from the Valor of our Ancestors, how basely do we injure their glorious Memory, by dreading an Enemy whom they have so often defeated, and how poorly it sounds in the Mouth of an *English*-Man to talk of an Invasion from
France?

France? By these and such like cunning Insinuations they wou'd have perswaded us that we were oblig'd in Honor to give our Enemies all the advantages they cou'd desire; and that 'twas a mark of Cowardice to put our selves in a posture of Defence. But these Artifices did not take effect, tho there were even some well-meaning Persons who had learn'd the Language, and promoted the Designs of those who at the same time were plotting their Ruine.

They had endeavor'd to stir up the People to Rebellion, or at least to try what might be expected from 'em if an Insurrection shou'd be begun.

In pursuance of this Design, some *Jacobites*, taking advantage of the Mildness of the Laws, and the Indulgency of the Government, met at a noted Tavern, where under pretext of a Drunken Frolic, which they hop'd wou'd be either slighted or excus'd, they assum'd the boldness to stop those who happen'd to pass that way, and to make 'em drink a Health to King *James* and the pretended Prince of *wales*. But at last
the

the People were so incens'd, and broke into the House with so much Fury, that the Impudent Rioteers, fearing to be torn in pieces by the Rabble, were glad, for their own security, to be seiz'd and carry'd to *Newgate*.

They had also form'd a Project to surprize the Tower, to favor the intended Insurrection; but all the Friends they had in it were not able to make 'em Masters of that important Place, nor cou'd they hope to keep it, if they shou'd have succeeded in the Attempt.

They had, in the last place, endeavor'd to corrupt the Forces that were left in the Kingdom, but had no great reason to boast of their Success: For, except some Troopers in the Earl of *Oxford's* Regiment, and here and there an Officer or a Soldier in the Militia, there were none who wou'd be engag'd in so black an Enterprize.

Goodman's
Deposition, April 24. 1696.

Capt. Porter's
Deposition, April 15. 1696.

Nor was the posture of their Affairs in *France* more encouraging than in *England*. For *Lewis XIV.* stood in need of all his Forces to oppose the Confederates whom he cou'd not

not hinder from making considerable Conquests. We were Masters of the Sea, and were either preparing, or had actually begun, to Bombard his Sea-port Towns. His Fleet was coop'd up in the *Mediterranean* and durst not venture to repass the Streights : So that how welcome soever the Proposals might be to the Courts of *Versailles* and *St. Germain's*, they cou'd not in such a Juncture spare so many Men as their Friends in *England* desir'd. And therefore *Charnock* was sent back with a Compliment to the *Jacobites*, and a promise of Assistance upon the first convenient Occasion.

The last Winter was the Time they pitch'd upon to make good their Promise. Thirty Batalions were order'd to March towards *Calais*, and the late King left *St Germain's* to put himself at the Head of 'em. Three or Four Hundred Transport Ships were prepar'd with all possible secrecy and diligence to bring over their Land-Forces, under the Convoy of a Squadron of Men of War, some of the Men were already embark'd, and the rest were embarking, in or-

der to make a Descent upon this Kingdom, before Providence thought fit to discover the mysterious Design of this Expedition.

Brice Blair's
Deposition,
March 16.
1695.

Any considering Person that was not acquainted with the Mystery of Iniquity, wou'd have concluded the Invasion of *England* to be as Impracticable then, as it was the Summer before. The *French* Fleet was still at *Thoulon*, and notwithstanding the advice we had of their Design to Re-pass the Streights, we had no reason to be afraid of any Attempt they cou'd make against us. For, in all humane probability, we seem'd to be equally secure, whether the Squadron that was design'd to reinforce our Fleet in the Streights shou'd pursue their intended Voyage or remain in our Ports; since their arrival there wou'd have prevented the Return of the *Thoulon* Fleet into the Ocean, and their staying here wou'd have enabl'd us to encounter with both the Fleets of our Enemies. And our Apprehensions were extremely lessen'd by the daily Expectation of our Squadron from *Cadiz*, which, we had all the reason in the World

to

to believe, wou'd sail immediately after the *French*, since they had nothing to do in the *Mediterranean* after their departure.

Besides, we know that the *Thou-
lon* Fleet cou'd not pass the Streights without a favorable Wind, and that even the quickest and most prosperous Voyage they cou'd expect, wou'd extremely retard the Execution of their Designs.

Our Enemies knew before this time, that our Squadron wou'd not sail to the *Mediterranean* for that was so far from being kept secret, that 'twas openly declar'd. Nor cou'd they be ignorant that we had a very considerable Number of Men of War in our Ports, and that the outward bound Fleets of Merchant Ships with those that were daily expected, wou'd furnish us with a more than sufficient Number of Seamen to Man them.

Before they cou'd execute their Design against us, 'twas necessary they shou'd Embark their Troops, pass the Sea and make a Descent in this Kingdom: And, after their Landing, some time must have been

spent in Receiving the *English* Rebels, forming a Body of Horse, Entrenching their Forces, and furnishing themselves with Provisions and Ammunition. Now, supposing that all these Preparations wou'd have requir'd no more than Four or Five Days; 'tis plain from the Event, that, even upon so short a Warning, we cou'd have put our selves in a posture of Defence. For not long after, they found to their cost, that we were able, in as little time, to bring Fourscore Men of War together; and consequently wou'd have been equally in a Condition to bring over a sufficient Number of Forces from *Flanders*, and to hinder our Enemies from sending a Reinforcement to make good their Descent.

Nor cou'd it be suppos'd that any *Jacobites*, who had not entirely lost the use of their Reason, wou'd venture to join an Army of Foreigners that wou'd have been in a manner besieg'd both by Sea and Land, and cou'd neither avoid nor resist the just Fury of an injur'd Nation. And besides, we shou'd have quickly rais'd
a nu-

a numerous and formidable Army; for the City of *London* alone offer'd to furnish the King with Twenty Thousand Men, on that occasion.

Thus 'tis plain that the Design of invading *England*, in such a Juncture, was either absolutely impracticable, or at least attended with unavoidable, and almost invincible Difficulties, and consequently might have been justly look'd upon as the Wild Project of a Distemper'd Brain; if the Conspirators had not depended upon the success of an Expedient which they had contriv'd to dissolve the Parliament, and put the whole Kingdom into a Consternation that wou'd have made us incapable of defending our selves. They knew that His Majesty was the Life and Soul of his Subjects, that his Wisdom secur'd 'em from the Devices, as his Valor protect'd 'em from the Attempts of their Enemies; and therefore resolv'd upon the compendious Way of Destroying *England* in the Person of its Great Defender.

The History of the

But before I proceed to give an account of that Hellish Enterprize, 'twill be highly convenient to take a view of the preceding Intrigues and Contrivances of the Faction.

In *France*, they industriously exaggerated the Number and Power of the *English Jacobites*. To perswade the People of that unhappy Nation to endure, with a servile patience, the Tyranny of their insolent Oppressors, they gave out that the *English* were quite Exhausted by the multiply'd Taxes that were impos'd upon 'em, that they were not able to support the Charge of the War any longer, and would be quickly forc'd to submit to the Mercy of *Lewis* the Great. And the same Artifice was made use of, to encourage the *French* Council to protect and assist the Late King.

It appears that the *French* King gave Credit to those Surmises; for in a Letter which he wrote to his Ambassador at the Court of *Sweden*, he says expressly, *That his Troops were Marching to the Coasts, and ready to Embark, as soon as the News of an Insurrection in that Kingdom shou'd confirm the Advices he had so often*

re-

receiv'd, &c. that the Nation was generally Dissatisfy'd with the Prince of Orange's Government.

But he was quickly made sensible of his Mistake, and that too in a manner, which was equally glorious to the *English* Nation, and mortifying to its most terrible Enemy, for 'tis certain, and must be acknowledg'd, even by those who saw it with Grief and Vexation, that never any Subjects discover'd a more tender Affection, and a more hearty and vigorous Loyalty to their Sovereign, than the Parliament and People of *England* did, on this occasion, to His Majesty.

In the mean time the Emissaries of the Faction, who are dispers'd thro all *Europe*, were industriously labouring to defame the *English* Nation, and to render us either odious or suspected to the Princes our Allies, that they might look upon us as unworthy of their Assistance, and leave us to the Mercy of our Enemies. They endeavor'd to put all the World in Expectation of beholding New Catastrophe's in a Kingdom, which they usually stile, *The Land of Revo-*

They represent us as an intrac-table, Seditious, and R bellicus People, always Jealous of our Neighbors, and seldom in Quiet among our selves. See the Second Book of the History of the Revolutions in England.

lutions, and here they pretend that Tumults and Insurrections are the familiar Recreations of the People.

To vindicate the Honor of our Country, and discover the Weakness and Injustice of these spiteful Aspersions, 'twill be sufficient to observe, that it has been the constant Practice of the Faction, to fasten their own Crimes upon us; and to ascribe the Disorders and Divisions, which they kindle and foment among us, to the Genius of the Nation, and the Humor of the People. Nor will the Parliament and People of *England* be accus'd of Lightness and Inconstancy by any unbiass'd Person that considers how much they have exceeded even their Wisest and most Wary Neighbors, in securing their Liberty and preserving an undisturb'd Peace and Tranquillity in their Country, and how firmly they have adher'd to their own true Interest, during the whole course of a War, which they maintain with equal Glory, Prudence and Resolution.

The *Roman-Catholic* Princes were upbraided for entering into a Confederacy

deracy with the Enemies of their Religion. But they were too wise, and too well acquainted with the Designs of those who wou'd have perswaded 'em to sacrifice their Interest to their Superstition; to suffer themselves to be impos'd upon by an Artifice, which, twice in our Memory, had almost prov'd Fatal to *Europe*. First, when, under pretext of promoting, or, at least, not opposing, the Advancement of the *Roman-Catholic* Religion, the *French* King was suffer'd to over-run the United Provinces, and to extend his Conquests so far that in the Judgment of the least Apprehensive Minds it seem'd hardly possible to hinder him from making himself Master of *Amsterdam*, and, with it, of the Fleet, Army, Credit, and Money of that potent Republic, which wou'd have render'd his Power almost as boundless as his Ambition. And, a Second time, when, after the Peace of *Nimeghen*, the *French* found a way to keep us from looking abroad, by engaging us in unnecessary Quarrels about Religion at home, and by that means diverted the prudent Jealousie
of

of the only Nation in *Europe* that was able to curb their Ambition; for, by retaining the possession of *Pignerol, Casal, Hunninghen, Strasburg, Montroyal, Luxemburg, &c.* they kept, at once *Italy, Switzerland, Germany* and the *Netherlands* under a kind of Subjection; and, in the General, all the Princes and States of *Europe* were over-aw'd by the severe Politics and formidable Power of an ambitious Monarch, who, like an ill-natur'd Neighbor, made every petty Trespass or accidental Slip, the pretext of a new Invasion.

If our Deliverance had been deferr'd till the Popish Party had secur'd the Plurality of Voices in the Parliament, and Modell'd an Army to support their unjust Usurpations: If the two Kings had had time to execute the Grand Design of destroying *Holland*, and extirpating the *Northern* Heresy; the House of *Austria* wou'd have been quickly sensible of the fatal Consequences of this pretended Advancement of the *Roman-Catholic* Religion. But, to return to the Kingdom that was doom'd to feel the first

first effects of these dismal Alterations.

The *English Jacobites*, as well as the Court of *St. Germain's*, were generally divided into *Melfordians* and *Middletonians*; and while one of the Parties declar'd openly for Arbitrary Power, the other insisted upon the Necessity of entering into a kind of Treaty with the Nation.

The former were entrusted with the Secrets of the Faction, and the Command of the Troops that were to be employ'd in the Destruction of their Country. All the Colonels were animated with the Spirit of *Melford*: *Parker* was engag'd in the most furious Designs of the Party; and both *Parkins* and *Friend* are represented as violent *Melfordians*, by a Person in whom they plac'd a particular Confidence. The *Lancashire* Papists both by Inclination and Interest, were zealous Promoters of Arbitrary Power. *Porter*, *Goodman*, *Chaynock*, and the rest of the Officers, who were to act either in the Assassination or Invasion, were influenc'd by the same Principles, and ready to obey the most barbarous Orders of their Commanders.

Brice Blair in
his Deposition,
March 9. 1698.

Thus

Thus each of the opposite Cabals apply'd themselves to their respective Tasks: For while the *Middletonians* were employ'd to amuse the People with flattering Hopes, and Assurances of a favorable Treatment; the *Melfordians*, who were the sole Masters of the Forces and Arms of the Faction, were putting themselves in a condition to violate the Promises of the former; which made one say, *That he was neither so much a Fool, nor a Villain, as to engage in the Party.*

It seems the Faction imagin'd that they cou'd easily betray the Nation to the cruel Ambition of a Foreign and Implacable Enemy: But notwithstanding their Confidence of Success, they scrupl'd not to contrive the basest and most treacherous Expedients to accomplish their unnatural Design. The Reader will find an evident Confirmation of both these Truths in a Discourse that pass'd between *Brice Blair* and *Harrison*, as 'tis related by the former upon Oath; *I went*, says he, *to see Mr. Harrison, a little after Sir George Barclay came from France, who told*

Brice Blair's
Deposition,
March 9. 1695.

me that there might be something done in a little time, which might be an Introduction to King James's Restoration. I ask'd him after what manner that business cou'd be effected; and after some pause he told me, that if King James cou'd not come in time enough, that his Friends might burn the Navy Victualling Office, wherein the Provisions for the Mouth lay, which might retard the English Fleet from getting to Sea for a considerable time. I told him, being amaz'd to hear such words from a Priest's Mouth, that it was not practicable, and if it were, there wou'd be few found that wou'd run the risque. He told me that he wou'd have me as forward in the King's Service as any Man; and that he was told by a Gentleman, and a very good Officer, that if he was sure of but a Hundred Horse, he wou'd end the war in a Fortnights time, &c.

'Twas by proposing such Expedients, that the Conspirators endeavor'd to distinguish themselves; since they found by experience that this was the only way to gain the Favor and Esteem

Esteem of the Party. *Melford* himself was oblig'd to give 'em a new Specimen of his barbarous Politics, and even to strain the natural Fierceness of his Temper, to support his sinking Credit. For after he had been dismiss'd for some time, as a Rash and Furious Person who was only fit to pursue violent Methods, and incapable of that seeming Moderation which the present Juncture requir'd; he was immediately restor'd to Favor, as soon as the Party was convinc'd of the Feasibleness of the Project he had contriv'd against the Liberty of the Nation, and the Life of its Deliverer. Thus *Middleton* was kept as a Reserve for the Day of Adversity, while *Melford* was cherish'd as their better Genius, who alone had the Art of improving an Advantage, and making our Yoke so heavy that we shou'd never afterwards be able to shake it off.

They left no means unattempted to confirm the Court of St. *Germain's* in these Maxims. To this
End,

End, an ingenious Jesuit was chosen to represent the Affairs of *England*, and especially the late Revolution, according to the Instructions he had receiv'd from the Party. It must be acknowledg'd that the Work is adorn'd with all the Embellishments of a beautiful Stile; and the Management of the Subject wou'd have been extremely suitable to the Juncture, if the late King had been in as fair a way to remount the Throne as they imagin'd. The Author endeavors to exasperate that Prince's Revenge: He imployes all his Art to convince him of the Justice and Usefulness of the *Melfordian* Principles, and, to render his Arguments more agreeable, and consequently more Effectual, his Advices are always intermix'd with Apologies and Panegyrics.

Father d'Orleans wrote the History of the Revolutions in England, according to the Memoirs and Informations which he receiv'd from the Earl of Castlemain, Skelton and Sheridan an Irish-Man. And besides he tells us that he had the Liberty to Discourse with King James as long as he pleas'd See the Advertisement before the Third Tome.

He commends King *Charles II.* for seizing the Charter of *London*, and resolving at last to Govern without a Parliament; and even has the confidence to tell us, that, for this reason, *the Four last Years of his Life were properly the only Years of his Reign; and that he became the Master*

Book II. p. 371.

Book II. p. 370.

ster of his Subjects as soon as they perceiv'd that he was resolv'd to rule without a Parliament. He exclaims against the Presbyterians, whom he stiles, *the natural Enemies of the Royal Prerogative*, adding, *that of all the Protestants, they are the most furiously bent to extirpate the Catholics*; and praises

at II. p. 471.

King Charles for the Care he took to suppress their Meetings. Yet not long after he becomes their Advocate against the Church of England, and brings in King James, telling the Clergy, *that the Persecutions they had rais'd against the Dissenters, made divers of his Good Subjects leave the Kingdom*. He derides the pretended Contract betwixt a Sovereign and His People, and reckons it a pernicious Chimera; or, which is the same thing, he puts these Words into the Mouth of those Lords whose Sentiments he approves. He speaks of the *Protestant Cabal*, and divides it into the

'Twould have been thought ridiculous if, even before the Late Persecution of the Protestants, one shou'd have talk'd of the Popish Cabal in France.

Episcopal and Presbyterian Cabals, as if the *Roman-Catholics* were the Body of the Nation.

He endeavors to fix a stain upon the Immortal Memory of those Illustrious Defenders of the Laws and

I have

Liberty of England, who sacrific'd their Fortunes, for the safety of their Country, and were neither afraid nor asham'd to mount a Scaffold in so glorious a Cause. He speaks of a

** matchless Infidelity; of perfidious designs, that could not be prevented by the most cautious Prudence, of the unheard of Treachery of so many Persons of great Quality, who abandon'd a Pri ce from whom they had receiv'd such signal Favors; of the shameful Conspiracy of so many Kings against him, and of the Moderation with which he began his Reign. He tell. him that Bad Subjects can never be gain'd by Kindness, and that the Event has taught him what measures he ought to have taken to prevent his Misfortune. To conclude, he does what he can to inspire him with Revenge, and to perswade him that Cruelty and Oppression are the two principal Maxims of State which he ought to pursue for the future.*

** So he terms the Vertue and Magnanimity of those who hazarded their Lives and Estates for the Preservation of their Country.*

At another time the Faction would have taken more care to conceal their Sentiments; for we must do em the Justice to acknowledge that they want neither Wit nor Prudence. But

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they

they look'd upon the Conquest of *England* as so sure a Project, and were so little apprehensive of its miscarriage, that they scrupl'd not to discourse publickly of the New Revolution. The News of the Design were spread over all *Europe*; and even there were some who pretended to fix the time of its Execution. Some talk'd at *Easter*, others mention'd the Beginning of the Spring, and some put it off till the Fleet from *Thoulou* shou'd join that which lay at *Brest*. In the meantime their confident Menaces were slighted as vain Rhodomontades by all honest Men, because they were not acquainted with their execrable Design to Assassinate his Majesty.

Sir *George Barclay*, a Scotchman, Lieutenant of King *James's* Guards, was the person that was chosen to command the Assassins. He set out from *St. Germans* in *September*, to execute his bloody Commission, with the assistance of Twenty or Two and Twenty Men, who were appointed to obey his orders. Some of that infamous Troop came over with their Leader: Some went before, and others

thers follow'd him. *Harris* was one of the last, who in his Deposition, April 15th 1696, affirms upon Oath, That he was an Ensign of Foot under the late King James in Scotland, that he had serv'd since in the Second Troop of his Guards in France. That about the 14th of January last, New Stile, King James sent for this Informant, and Michael Hare his Camerade. That King James spoke with them in the late Queen's Bedchamber and told this Informant, that he had an Opportunity of doing something for him, being very sensib'e he had serv'd him well: That he would send him into England where he should be subsisted, and that he was to follow Sir George Barclay's Orders, and in so doing he would take care of him. That he had order'd them Money for their Journey, which they should receive from Mr. Caroll (who is Secretary to the late Queen) King James told this Informant further, that he should find Sir George Barclay every Munday and Thursday between Six and Seven at Night, in Covent-Garden-Square, and that they might know him by a white Handkerchief hanging out of his Coat-Pocket; and King James pulling a

They came over in a Vessel, which usually pass betwixt Calais and Rumney Marsh, bringing over Packets to the Conspirators, with French Goods, and certain Jacobite Passengers who were wont to go and come betwixt these two places. And among them there were certain Priests who oftentimes export-ed Contraband Goods, &c. James Hunt's Deposition, April 6. 1696.

List out of his Pocket, told this Informant, when he was in England, he must go by the name of Jenkyns, and Mr. Hare by the name of Guinney. Colonel Parker was by all the time when King James spoke to this Informant, and by the King's Order, Colonel Parker went with this Informant and his Camerade to Mr. Caroll's and Mr. Caroll told them, that the King had ordered them Ten Louis d' Ors apiece, which would be enough to carry them over, and if they should chance to be Wind bound, he had writ to the President Tossie at Calais, to furnish them with Money, &c.

The rest of the Assassins that were sent over to assist Sir George Barclay, George Har-
ris's Deposition,
April 15. 1696. were either Troopers in King James's Guards, Pensionaries of the Court of St. Germain's, Officers who expected preferment, or Soldiers taken out of the Regiments, to be employ'd in that execrable Service.

The Faction made use of none but such as were Persons of Trust, and who, they believ'd, would not scruple to engage in the dire Attempt. And, that the Assassination might be look'd upon as a Stratagem of War, those

those who were to act in it, were for the most part Officers and Soldiers.

This Infamous Detachment set out from *St. Germain's* at several times, and under various pretex's: One gave out, that he was going to continue his Studies in one of the Colleges in *Scotland*; and another, that he was weary of the Service.

George Harris's
Deposition, A-
pril 15. 1656.

Secrecy was particularly recommended and enjoined to every one of 'em: And least their absence should be taken notice of, and give occasion to various Discourses and Conjectures, *King *Jares* declar'd at his Levee, that 'twas his pleasure that none should presume to talk of their Departure, and that he would severely punish those who should give him the least occasion to believe, that they were more curious to enquire into his designs, than zealous in obeying his Orders.

* 'Twas Maxwell who acquainted the Conspirators with this passage.

In the mean time Sir *George Barclay* arriv'd at *London*, where he met with *Charnock*, that faithful and zealous Agent of the Party, and afterwards with *Porter* and *Goodman*, who were easily prevail'd with to engage

in a Design that was formerly propos'd by themselves.

Afterwards the Conspirators engag'd Major *Lowick*, *Knightley*, *Bertram*, *Chambers*, *Durance* a Walloon, *Cranburn*, *Kendrick*, *Grimes*, *Fisher*, *Larue*, *Sherburn* and *Keys*, who was formerly *Porter's* Servant, but was now become his Confident and Companion. And besides these, they reckon'd themselves sure of *Pendergrafs* who was in the Country, and *Plowden*, whom they resolv'd to send for out of *Hampshire*.

They were all engag'd in the same Design, acted upon the same Principles, and were influenc'd by the same Motives and Expectations; tho they made use of various pretexts to lessen the scandal of their Crime, and to conceal the mercenary Ends that engag'd 'em in it.* One of them shew'd the Wounds he had receiv'd in the War, accusing his Majesty as the cause of 'em; another complain'd that he had lost his place by the Revolution: but all in general, were possess'd with an immoderate desire to advance their Fortunes, without considering either the danger or infamy of the Ways they

* Chambers

they took to satisfy their Ambition.

There are still some Seeds of Virtue in the Soul of Man, some remaining Strictures of her primitive Lustre that cannot be blotted out with one Dash. It requires time to finish a Villain, as well as to form a Hero; the one must sink by degrees beneath, as the other must by successive steps ascend above, the common Level of Humane Nature. The Conspirators were sensible of this Truth, and since they could not expect to find Instruments ready made that were fit for such a Work, they were forced to undergo the trouble of fashioning their own Tools. To this end, they conceal'd the blackest part of the Design from those with whom they began to treat, and contented themselves with a general exhortation to contribute their assistance to restore their abdicated Monarch, or, in somewhat plainer Terms, to meet him at his Expected Landing: But after they had, by such Insinuations as these, prepar'd the Dispositions of their Profelytes for any violent Attempt, they proceeded to Disclose the bottom of the Mysterious Villany, and told

Knightly, A.
April 2. 1655.

'em frankly, that *the quickest way to bring in the late King was by knocking King William on the Head*, or, to give a softer turn to such a startling Proposal, *by making War upon him in his Winter Quarters.*

They pretended that such an Attempt cou'd no more be reckon'd an Assassination, than if they had kill'd him in *Flanders*, as he chang'd his Quarters, and remove from one Town to another : And *Barclay*, to hide the Infamy of the Parricide, was wont to say, *Gentlemen, we are Men of Honor : We'll attack the Prince of Orange at the Head of his Guards.*

But since there are degrees in all sorts of Crimes, and every Traitor is not willing to become an Assassin ; the Conspirators had the Mortification to find their proposals rejected by some, even of their own Party.

Francis de La-
rue's Deposition,
February 26.
1696.

The two Brothers, *Thomas* and *Bevil Higgins*, tho violent *Jacobites*, refus'd to have any hand in the Design against his Majesty's Person.

Capt. George
Porter's Depo-
sition, March 3.
1696.

Sir *John Friend* was acquainted with the design, but dislik'd it, not from any honest Principle, but because he was afraid it would ruine
the

the Interest of the Faction. Nor was this a groundless Apprehension, since few have so mean an opinion of themselves, as to enter into the Service of a Party that wou'd engage 'em in such base and desperate Attempts, and even refuses to acquaint 'em perfectly with the Design of which they wou'd make 'em the Instruments. Sir *William Parkins* was an active Promoter of the Design, but was not willing to act in it : And *Brice Blair* endeavor to dissuade some of his Friends from being concern'd in it.

*Brice Blair's
Deposition,
March 9. 1692.*

The Officers that were sent from *France* to obey an Order which had never been communicated to 'em, could not forbear murmuring when they were acquainted with the Business in which they were to be employ'd. They ask'd one another, whether this was the fine Exploit they were sent to atchieve ; but all the Scruples that Virtue, Conscience or Honor could suggest to 'em, were not able to make 'em forget the positive Order they had receiv'd

*George Harris's
Deposition, A.
pril 15. 1695.*

Major *Lowick* was the first who declar'd that he wou'd obey, because
he

he was sure that Sir *George Barclay* would not undertake any thing without Orders. *Rookwood* was of his opinion, insisting still upon this, that the King sent him to obey Sir *George Barclay*. *Bernard*, *Harris*, *Hare*, and the rest, said, they would be govern'd by their Companions. Thus tis plain that they thought themselves oblig'd to Obey, in a case, in which Disobedience is the principal Duty and distinguishing Character of a Man of Honor.

The brave
Grillon refus'd
to assassinate
the Duke of
Guise, tho the
Proposal was

made to him by his Sovereign, *Henry III.* of *France*. And when King *John* of *England*, would have perswaded *Debray*, the Captain of his Guards, to assassinate a Prince that pretended a right to his Crown; that generous Officer reply'd, *That he was a Gentleman, and not a Hangman*, and immediately retir'd to his House.

Several ways were propos'd in their private Meetings, to Assassinate his Majesty. *Brice Blair* in his Deposition *March 17th 1696*, takes notice of an Attempt that was to have been executed by Men that were to lie in wait for him on the Road as he was going to Embark for *Holland*. He affirms that *Bertram* told him, the last year, that *Charnock* had engag'd him and others to Assassinate the King on his way to *Flanders*; and that

that the Design wou'd have been put in Execution, if they had not receiv'd Counter-orders from *St. Germain's*, the day before the King set out.

Tho the Credit of this Passage depends entirely on the discourse betwixt *Bertram* and *Blair*, since there are no other Witnesses that attest it, nor any circumstances or presumptive Evidence brought to Confirm it; I thought my self oblig'd to mention it, as a thing that is neither improbable, nor impertinent to the Subject of this History. But since I have such a variety of Matter before me, and every Circumstance confirm'd by unquestion'd Evidence, I will not insist upon any thing that comes short of an undoubted Truth.

'Tis certain that there were several Projects set on foot, or at least propos'd by the Conspirators to execute their design'd Attempt against his Majesty's Person. In the beginning 'twas thought fit by some, either to Seize, or Kill Him at *Kennington*, by attacking his Guards, and forcing his Palace in the Night.

Another Proposal was to murder him when he shou'd come on *Sunday* Richard Fishers's Deposition, February 25. to 1696.

to perform his Devotions at St. *James's* Chapel. Two or Three and Thirty of the Conspirators were to attack his Guards, which usually do not exceed Twenty or Five and Twenty; while Six Men on Foot, who were to have been conceal'd for that purpose in some of the Neighbouring Houses shou'd shut *Hide-Park* Gate, and the rest Assassinate his Majesty. 'Twas agreed also to Kill the Coach-Horses just as they were entering into the *Park*, that, the Passage being stop't, the Guards might not be able to come up, till they had given the fatal Blow.

It appears that, after the committing of the execrable Deed, they resolv'd to retire immediately to the *Tower*, which, for that end, they propos'd to surprize. And 'tis probable that the apparent Difficulty or rather impossibility of making themselves Masters of that Place, and the want of a secure Retreat any where else, were the main Reasons that made 'em lay aside the Thoughts of performing the Assassination this way.

Both these Proposals were soon rejected by the Conspirators; but there were two other Projects that
were

were the subject of a longer Deliberation, being look'd upon as more feasible, and obnoxious to fewer and less discouraging Hazards. And therefore it will not be improper to give the Reader a more particular account of 'em.

The King has a House at *Richmond*, whither he usually went to hunt every *Saturday*, when free from the hurry of Business, and the perpetual cares in which he had spent the Week, he had leasure to divert himself with that Innocent and Manly Recreation. Near that place there is a little Park that reaches to the River side; the *Thames* on one side, and the *Park-pales* on the other, forming a kind of *Defilé* or narrow Lane, about 150 paces long, in the middle of which there is a Gate that hinders Coaches or Horses from passing that way, when 'tis shut. Thro this Lane the King usually return'd from hunting, and 'twas here that the Conspirators resolv'd to execute their barbarous Design.

The Park, the River, the Gate, and the Pales, were all to be made subservient for facilitating the At-tempt.

*Larne's Deposition, February 26. 1698.
Capt. Porter's Declaration upon Oath before a Committee of the Council, March 3. 1698.*

tempt. Several Persons on foot, well arm'd, were to be plac'd in Ambuscade behind the Hedges and Pales. When the King's Coach had pass'd the Gate, it was to be shut upon the Guards that follow'd him; the Coach was to be stop't by killing some of the Horses, and the Pales were to be saw'd so far, that they might be broken down as soon as they enter'd upon action. In the mean time some Horsemen were to attack Six or Seven of the Guards, that go before the Coach, and the Party that lay in Ambuscade were to fire on the Body of the Guards that were stop't by the Gate, that the Assassins might have time to murder the King and those who were with him.

'Twas also agreed that, after the Assassination, such of the Conspirators as were on Horseback shou'd immediately disperse, and those of the Ambuscade who were to act on foot, dress'd in Countrymens habits, shou'd make their escape to the River-side, where there was to be a Boat lying ready to receive 'em. This proposal was under deliberation for some time, during which some of the Conspirators

tors were sent to the place, in order to view the Ground, and upon the Account they gave of it the above mention'd Scheme was fram'd. But after all their Consultations, since Sir George Barclay was not sure of a sufficient Number of Horse to carry off those that were to lye in Ambuscade, who, consequently, wou'd have been expos'd to very great dangers, before they cou'd have reach'd *London*, this Project was also rejected by the Cabal

The last way that was propos'd to murder the King, was to assault him, as he return'd from *Richmond*, in a place betwixt *Brentford* and *Turnham Green*.

In a Bottom, where the Ground is moorish and uneven, there is a Bridge where divers Roads meet and cross one another; on the North-side there is a Road that goes round *Brentford*, and on the South a Lane that leads to the River; so that one may come thither from four several Places. After you pass the Bridge the Road grows narrow, having on one side a Foot-path, and on the other a tall and thick Hedge.

Capt. Porter,
March 3. 1698.

This

This was to have been the scene of the most dismal Tragedy that ever was acted in *England*; nor could they have chosen a more convenient Time or Place for executing their barbarous design. For the King us'd to return late from Hunting, and to cross the River at *Queensferry*, by *Brentford*, with Five or Six of his Guards. 'Twas also his custom to go into the Boat without coming out of his Coach, and as soon as he landed on the other side, the Coach drove on without expecting the rest of the Guards, who cou'd not cross the River till the Boat return'd to bring em over. In the mean time, the King, with his small Attendance, wou'd have quickly arriv'd at the Bridge, which is at the other end of *Brentford* next to *London*, and consequently wou'd have falln into the hands of the Conspirators, who were to attack him on all sides.

They were to be divided into Three Parties, one of which was to come from *Turnham Green*, another from the Lane that leads to the River, and the Third from the Road that goes round *Brentford*. One of these
Troops

Troops were to attack the Guards on the Front, and the other in the Rear, while Eight or Ten detach'd Men assaulted the Coach, where his Majesty wou'd have been assassinated before the Guards whom he left on the other side of the River cou'd have come up to his Assistance.

After the Assassination the Conspirators were to have kept together till they came to *Hammersmith*, a little Town betwixt *Turnham Green* and *London*. There they intended to separate, and afterwards by several Roads to enter the City, where they hop'd they might lurk securely, during the general Consternation, till they shou'd be freed from danger by the sudden Landing of the *French*.

Capt. George
Porter's Depo-
sition, March 3.
1696.

This Proposal pleased the Conspirators better than any of the former, *Porter*, *King*, and *Knightly* were sent to view the Ground, and upon the Report they made at their Return, the Business was finally agreed upon.

Sir *George Barclay* had brought Eight hundred Pounds from *France* for the Charge of the Attempt, but finding that he cou'd not carry off
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the Design with so small a Sum, he complain'd to his Friends, who soon found a way to supply that Defect. For *Charnock* undertook to provide Eight men ready mounted and arm'd, *Porter* Seven, and *Sir William Parkins* Five: So that *Barclay* was only oblig'd to buy or hire Twenty Horses for the Officers and Soldiers he had brought from *France*.

Porter and *Rookwood* commanded the Two Parties that were to attack the Guards; and *Sir George Barclay* reserv'd the honor of the Assassination for himself.

One of the Conspirators was order'd to wait at *Queensferry* till the Guards appear'd, and then immediately to give notice to the rest, that they might have time to prepare themselves and take their respective Posts, while the King was passing the River. They resolv'd to form themselves into several Bodies, which were to advance with all possible Diligence to the Place appointed for the fatal Rendezvous.

They had omitted nothing that might serve to secure and facilitate the Execution of their Attempt.

They

They had visited all the Inns about Brentford and Turnham-green, and the places where they might set up their Horses till the King shou'd return from Hunting.

They had also Two Spies, or *Orderly men*, as they call'd 'em, who were posted at *Kensington*: * One of

Larue's Deposition, February 25. 1698.

* *Chambers.*

'em was to give notice when the King went out, and the other was to bring † *Durant.* an account when the Guards began to March And that the Assassination might pass under the Notion of a Military Exploit, they produc'd an Order to take up Arms against the Prince of Orange and his Adherents.

There was some Difference among the Conspirators concerning the Terms and Expressions of the Commission, even after they had confess'd their Crime. For some of 'em acknowledg'd that it contain'd an express order to Kill the King; whereas * others pretended that it only authoriz'd em, in the general, to levy War against the Prince of Orange and all his Adherents.

* *Sir William Parkyn own'd that he saw such a Commission, which he understood to be*

King James's, that it had a Seal to it, that he saw it in the Hand of a Friend, &c. See the Votes of the House of Commons, April 2. 1698.

'Tis the Opinion of several Judicious Persons, that the most considerable Discovery was made by those who endeavour'd to put the fairest Construction on this execrable Project. For to Levy War against the King and his Adherents, after such a manner, and in such Circumstances, cou'd signifie nothing else than the Murdering of the King and Parliament, and of all that lov'd, and were resolv'd to maintain the Laws, Religion, and Liberty of *England*.

The Fifteenth of *February* was chosen for the Execution of the dire Attempt : 'Twas on that fatal Day that *England*, or rather *Europe*, was to lose its Deliverer, and with him, all its hopes of accomplishing the Great Work which he had so happily begun ; and 'twas then that Heaven was resolv'd to work a new Miracle for our Preservation. If we had foreseen the Danger that threaten'd him, the remembrance of past Hazards wou'd have only serv'd to heighten our Apprehensions for the future ; His Subjects cou'd hardly have welcom'd him, at his return from so glorious a Campaign ; and instead of celebrating

celebrating his Victories, would have trembl'd at his Approaching Fate. But we found, to our Comfort, that the same Providence which had so often cover'd his Head in the Day of Battle, and guarded him from the fiercest Assaults of his Enemies, was also able to preserve him from the treacherous Fury of Assassins.

To prevent suspicion, they dispos'd their Men in different places of the Town, and even in the remotest Parts of it: *Barclay* and *Rookwood* expected the Signal in *Holborn*; and *Porter*, with some others, waited, upon the same account, at the *Blue Posts* in *Spring garden*. *Charnock* resolv'd to accompany the latter, either because he mistrusted him, and intended to animate him by his example; or because he was willing to chuse a Post that was least expos'd to Danger, as* another of the Conspirators suspected. And perhaps he had still so much Reason left, notwithstanding the impetuous Passion that disturb'd his Judgment, as to decline acting in the most odious Part of the Tragedy.

Thus they lay expecting the News of the King's Departure for *Richmond*, but his Majesty did not go out that day; and some of the Conspirators were so alarm'd at this Disappointment, that they began to reflect either upon the Danger or Infamy to which such an Attempt would expose 'em. *Plowden*, who came purposely to Town to act under *Porter*, went back to the Country, and did not think fit to return, according to his Promise. *Kenrick* pretended that he was disabl'd by a Fall, and appear'd for some days with his Arm in a String: *Sherbourn* started so many Scruples, when the Design was propos'd to him, that they did not think fit to press him further; And even the fiercest and most harden'd Assassins began to be apprehensive of the Success of their Project.

But, at last, concluding that their Design was not discover'd, because they were not secur'd, *Sir George Barclay*, *Sir William Parkins*, Captain *Porter* and *Goodman*, met on the 21st of *February*, and resolv'd to make a new attempt to execute their Project, without altering the Method of it.

it. In pursuance of this Resolution, the Assassins wereto be prepar'd for the bloody Action, on *Saturday* the 22d of *February*, which was to have been the last Day of our Liberty, and the Fatal *Æra* of the irrecoverable Ruine of *England*.

The Morning was spent in an impatient Expectation of Advice from those whom they had appointed to give 'em notice when the King went out. *Charnock*, who for some days had been very uneasy and full of Jealousy and Suspicion, sent a Man to *Porter*, for a List of those who were to act in the Assassination. He seem'd particularly to doubt *Larue*, and perhaps was desirous to have some Satisfaction concerning him. The List was sent to him, with *Larue's* Name at the head of the rest; and he sent it back again, after he had inserted the Names of those whom he was to furnish.

Francis de Larue's Deposition
February 26.
1696.

Pendergrafs was one of those who were with *Porter*: They had sent for him out of the Country, and would have assign'd him a remarkable part in the Assassination. *Porter* had a Musketoon that carry'd 6 or 8 Bullets, with which *Pendergrafs* was to shoot

at the King; and they desir'd him not to be afraid of breaking the Coach-glasses.

The Conspirators were disappointed a Second time; and the boldest of 'em cou'd not forbear discovering their Fears, when *Keys* acquainted 'em that the Guards were come back all in a foam, and that there was an unusual muttering among the People. This unexpected piece of News put 'em all into a Consternation; the Cabal was entirely dispers'd, and most of 'em endeavour'd to secure themselves by a speedy flight.

*Capt. Porter's
Deposition,
March 3. 1693.*

Nor was this meerly the effect of a Panic Dread or groundless Apprehension; for the Conspiracy was actually detected. *Fisher, Pendergrass, Larue*, and another had separately given Information to Different Persons concerning it, tho they had not yet discover'd the Particulars.

Captain *Fisher* was the Man whom God inclin'd to make the first Discovery of this inhumane Design. He went to the Earl of *Portland*, on the Tenth of *February*, Five Days before the Time that was appointed for the Execution of it, and inform'd him of
the

the intended Enterprize, without acquainting him either with the Time, Manner, or Circumstances, which were not yet agreed upon : but he promis'd to give him further notice as soon as they shou'd come to a positive Resolution.

And now we may justly reflect, with an equal amazement, upon the Sedateness and Generosity of his Majesty's Temper, who cou'd hard'y be perswaded to suspect those who only waited for a convenient opportunity to Murder him ; and the barbarous Fury of his Enemies, who scrupl'd not to conspire the Death of so Good and so Brave a Prince. Any other Person wou'd have been startl'd at an Advice of this nature, or at least wou'd have look'd upon it as too important to be neglected : but the King, secure in his own Vertue, conscious of no Guilt, and consequently incapable of Fear, was so far from being alarm'd at the Discovery, that he wou'd not give credit to it, because the Circumstances were not particularly mention'd.

Three Days after, *Fisher* return'd Febr. 13.
to *Whitehall*, and gave the Earl of
Portland

Portland an account not only of the Design itself, but also of the Method and order of its Execution. Yet tho he made a full Discovery of the Time, Place, and other Circumstances of the Enrerprize, he peremptorily refus'd to mention the names of the Actors ; which confirm'd the King in his former opinion, and made him conclude that 'twas a story contriv'd on purpose to fright him with a false Alarm. But, the very day before the Fatal Blow was to be given, God, by a seasonable Providence prevented our impending Ruine, and deliver'd our King from his own Generous Incredulity.

Febr. 14.

It happen'd that, on that very day, the Earl of *Portland* went to see the Countess of *Effex*, and, contrary to his custom, made his visit longer than he design'd. By good fortune he call'd to mind that he had promis'd to meet a certain person about a private Affair ; and tho 'twas already time for him to go to *Kensington*, he resolv'd, according to his usual exactness in keeping his Word, to go first to his Lodgings at *Whitehall*. As soon as he went in, he found an unknown

known person in his Antichamber, who desir'd to speak with him about a matter of the highest importance, that cou'd not be deferr'd to another time. This was a sufficient Argument to obtain what he ask'd, especially in such a juncture The Earl made haste to dispatch the person whom he had order'd to wait upon him, and immediately admitted the Stranger, who accosted him with this surprizing Request, *My Lord, perswade the King to stay at home to morrow; for if he go abroad to Hunt, he will be Assassinated.*

Afterwards he gave him a particular account of the Conspiracy, with almost the same Circumstances that had already been discover'd by *Fisher*. He added, that his Name was *Pendergrafs*, that he was an *Irishman*, and a *Catholic*; that they sent for him out of the Country, without acquainting him with the reason that made 'em desirous to see him; that afterwards they endeavour'd to engage him in the Design, that he was struck with horror at the first proposal, and immediately resolv'd to discover it; that his Religion was accus'd for authorizing and encouraging such Actions,

Actions; but that, for his part, he abhorr'd such Principles, tho in all other respects he was a true Catholick.

Thus his Majesty began to receive the just Reward of his Clemency and Moderation: for he is, and has always been, equally remarkable for his stedfast adhering to his own Religion, and his Indulgency to those of another Perswasion. When he accepted the Crown of *Scotland*, he declar'd *that he wou'd not be a Persecutor*; and all his Actions are so many illustrious Testimonies of the Sincerity of that Resolution. Never any Papist, that was willing to live in Peace, stood in need of an Intecessor with him. He protected 'em in *Ireland* against the angry Counsels of some over-zealous Protestants: He favour'd 'em as much as he cou'd without injuring the rest of his Subjects, and treated 'em upon all occasions, with an Indulgency that surpriz'd those who are not acquainted with the Native Goodness of his Temper. 'Tis true, this may perhaps be reckon'd, in some measure, an Effect of his Complaisance to the Family of *Austria*, with whom he
has

has entertain'd a long and intimate Friendship, which has been endear'd by reciprocal Good Offices, and is confirm'd and made necessary to 'em both, by the Interest of their mutual Preservation. But tho the Papists were deprov'd of such powerful Intercessors; his Virtue alone would supply that Defect, and sufficiently recommend 'em to his Favor and Protection. And we have reason to believe that God is pleas'd with his Mildness and Clemency to the *Roman Catholics* in general, and to the *Irish* in particular; since by a wonderful Providence, he made an *Irish* Papist the Instrument of Saving his Life.

Pendergrafs added, that he would have gone straight to *Kensington*, to make the Discovery to the King himself, if he had not been afraid of being seen and taken notice of by the Two Orderly Men whom the Conspirators kept in that place; and that since the Nature of the Business requir'd all possible Dispatch, he thought he cou'd not make his Address to a Person that would be more zealous and careful than his Lordship. But tho no means were left unattempted

tempted to perswade him to name the Conspirators, he resisted with an invincible Constancy all the Arguments that were made use of to that effect; declaring that he wou'd never be prevail'd with to injure his Friends, or betray those to whom he had been formerly oblig'd.

It has been frequently observ'd that the most trivial Accidents have given birth to the most Memorable and Important Events: And, upon this Occasion, it seem'd good to that Supreme and over ruling Providence which guides the World, that the Preservation of a Prince, in whose Life the Fate of *Europe* is bound up, shou'd depend upon a Visit that was made to the Earl of *Portland* at Ten a clock at night.

At his Arrival at *Kensington*, which, notwithstanding all the haste he cou'd make, was very late, he found that the King was already retir'd, and that he had given the necessary Orders for his usual Recreation the next morning. That Vertuous and Magnanimous Prince was preparing to go to *Richmond*, with as sedate and unconcern'd a Mind as if he had not
re-

receiv'd Intelligence of the bloody Design that was to be executed near that place. And even the new Confirmation he receiv'd of it cou'd scarce prevail with him to alter his Resolution, till he was at last overcome by my Lord *Portland's* repeated Importunities.

In the mean time the number of the Discoverers encreas'd, and the Informations they had given were confirm'd by the concurring Testimony of another of the Conspirators, who apply'd himself to Sir *William Trumbal*, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and convinc'd him of the Reality of the Plot, tho he cou'd not acquaint him with the Circumstances of it. For that Minister had already receiv'd advice that the *French* were bringing together a great number of Transport-Ships, and making all the necessary Preparations for an extraordinary Design, which was kept very Secret, tho, in all probability, the Storm was like to fall upon *England* So that comparing these Advices concerning a Foreign Invasion, with the Account he had receiv'd of the Design against
His

His Majestys Person, he found that they confirm'd each other, tho he could hardly look upon either of 'em as probable, when he consider'd 'em Singly. And therefore he made all possible haste to communicate these Discoveries to His Majesty, with his usual Zeal and Fidelity.

About the same time Brigadier *Lewson* acquainted the King, that one *Larne* had inform'd him of a Design that was on foot to Assassinate His Majesty. This last Discoverer gave a very particular and Circumstantial Account of the whole Intrigue; but He, as well as the rest, seem'd obstinately resolv'd to conceal the Names of the Conspirators.

The King, convinc'd by so many Concurring Informations, and perceiving that all the Accounts he had receiv'd agreed exactly with one another, began to believe the Truth of the Discovery. He order'd the Earl of *Portland* and Sir *William Trumbal* to make a more particular Enquiry into the Progress and Circumstances of the Design; the Former as having receiv'd the first Advice of the Conspiracy against His Person,
and

and the Latter as having been first acquainted with the Plot against the Nation.

'Twas a very Difficult Task to manage so nice an Enquiry; for tho they had Four Witnesses, they could not produce one Legal Evidence. They cou'd not stifle the Informations they had receiv'd without exposing his Majesty's Life to the brutish Fury of Assassins, who would soon find another Way to execute their Detestable Project: Nor could they publish a Discovery which they cou'd not prove, without running the hazard of being charg'd with the first Invention of it And besides, the Divulging of these Advices would have encourag'd the Conspirators to carry on their Design, and perhaps made 'em hasten the Execution of it, least they shou'd at last be entirely discover'd, and receive the just Reward of their Crimes

In the mean time the King resolv'd to expose his Life to all the Dangers that threaten'd it, if it cou'd not be secur'd without violating the usual Forms of Justice. So that we were like to perish by those very Laws that

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were

were contriv'd and establish'd for our Preservation, if the Earl of *Portland* had not found out an Expedient to ward off the Blow without having recourse to any indirect or unwarrantable Stratagem. He consider'd, that *Pendergrafs* and *Larue* might be perswaded to discover the whole Mystery, if the King himself shou'd speak to em, and that even tho they shou'd refuse to yield to His Majesty's Solicitations, the Information they were willing to give might serve to Convict the Conspirators, if it were deliver'd in the presence of unexceptionable Witnesses, who might Depose it at their Trials.

The King himself cou'd not be an Evidence; and therefore twas necessary that there shou'd be at least Two Witnesses present, when he discours'd with 'em. He spoke to *Pendergrafs* and *Larue* separately; to the First before the Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Cutts*, and to the Second, in the Presence of the same Earl and Brigadier *Lewson*. After he had assur'd 'em that he esteem'd their Persons, and was extremely pleas'd with their Proceedings; he told 'em, *That he own'd himself*

himself oblig'd to 'em for the Care they took to preserve his Life; but desir'd 'em to consider, that the Service they had done him by discovering the Conspiracy could be of no use to him, so long as they conceal'd the Names of the Conspirators; that he could neither Punish nor so much as Convict the Criminals; that the People would never be perswaded to believe that several Persons had discover'd a Conspiracy which they either could not, or would not justify; that, on the contrary, they would imagine that he had invented a Sham-plot to destroy his Enemies, which would render him odious to all the World; that so general and Imperfect a Discovery would expose his Honor without Securing his Life, &c. These Arguments produc'd the desir'd Effect, and conquer'd the obstinacy of the Discoverers: They could not resist the awful Eloquence of an injur'd Monarch, and were at last prevail'd with to make an Atonement for their Guilt by discovering their Fellow-Criminals.

After his Majesty was acquainted with the Names and Designs of the Conspirators, he told the Cabinet Council, that he had for some time

neglected the Advices he had receiv'd of a Conspiracy against his Person; but since by the favorable Providence of God, he was fully convinc'd of the Truth of it, he would not tamely Suffer himself to be assassinated. He added that he was inform'd the *French* were peparing to Invade the Kingdom, but that he hop'd God would enable him to frustrate their Designs.

Not long after, he call'd the Great Council, and communicated the Discovery to them. He receiv'd, from both, particular Assurances of Fidelity and Affection, and immediately issued out a Proclamation requiring all his loving Subjects to apprehend the Conspirators, and promising a Reward of a Thousand Pounds for every one that shoud be seiz'd

The Parliament was not yet acquainted with the Danger that threaten'd the Nation; but assoon as His Majesty was convinc'd of the Reality of the Conspiracy, and cou'd produce Witnesses to prove it, he went to *Westminster* on the 24th of *February*, and made the following Speech to both Houses.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am come hither this Day upon an extraordinary Occasion which might have prov'd Fatal, if it had not been Disappointed by the Singular Mercy and Goodness of God; And may now, by the Continuance of the same Providence, and our own Prudent Endeavours be so Improv'd, as to become a sufficient Warning to Us to provide for Our Security against the Pernicious Practices and Attempts of Our Enemies.

I have receiv'd several Concurring Information of a Design to Assassinate Me, and that Our Enemies, at the same time, are very forward in their Preparations for a sudden Invasion of this Kingdom, And have therefore Thought it necessary to lose no Time in Acquainting My Parliament with these Things, in which the safety of the Kingdom and the Public Welfare are so nearly Concern'd, That I Assure My Self, nothing will be Omitted on your Part, which may be Thought proper for Our Present or Future Security.

I have not been Wanting to give the Necessary Orders for the Fleet; And I Hope, We have such a Strength of Ships, and in such a Readiness, as will be suffic-

ent to Disappoint the Intentions of our Enemies.

I have also Dispatch'd Orders for bringing Home such a Number of Our Troops, as may Secure Us from any Attempt.

Some of the Conspirators against My Person are already in Custody, and Care is taken to Apprehend so many of the rest as are Discover'd: And such other Orders are given, as the present Exigency of Affairs does absolutely Require, at this Time, for the Public Safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having now Acquainted you with the Danger, which hath threaten'd Us, I cannot Doubt of your Readiness and Zeal, to do every Thing which you shall judge Proper for Our Common Safety: And I perswade My Self, We must be all Sensible, how necessary it is in Our present Circumstances, That all possible Dispatch should be given to the Business before you.

The Proclamation and His Majesty's Speech publish'd the Conspiracy, and made us Sensible of the dreadful Ruine which we had so narrowly

narrowly escap'd. All *England* was alarm'd at the Surprizing News: an universal Horror was diffus'd thro the whole Nation; we trembl'd to think of the amazing Danger which humane Wisdom cou'd neither have foreseen nor prevented, and were scarcely capable of reflecting upon our present Deliverance. The Conspiracy was the only Subject both of our Thoughts and Discourse: We look'd upon the execrable Design and the treacherous Contrivers of it, with a just Abhorrence and Indignation, and every one ador'd a Miraculous Providence in which All were so nearly concern'd.

Some reflected upon the Massacres, Burnings and Persecutions, and all the other dismal Instances of the implacable Rage of the Faction in former times; and concluded that the Conspirators were afraid we had forgotten the Sufferings of our Ancestors, and intended to refresh our Memory by re-acting the same Barbarities.

Others entertain'd themselves with the melancholy Prospect of our future Condition, if Heaven, to punish our Crimes, had suffer'd our Enemies to

deprive us of our Glorious Deliverer. And even the calmest Minds cou'd not preserve their wonted Tranquillity, when they consider'd that after we had sustain'd so vast an Expence of Blood and Treasure to maintain our Religion and Liberty; after we had been deliver'd from Arbitrary Power by the miraculous Assistance of Heaven, and *Ireland* reduc'd by glorious Victories; after we had made ourselves Masters of the Sea, and began to be Conquerors on Land; that after these and so many other Blessings of Providence, we shou'd have been forc'd to resume our broken Fetters, and submit to the Insolent Revenge of a baffl'd Enemy.

Those who consider'd the Posture of Affairs abroad, were soon convinc'd that the execution of this detestable Project wou'd have been no less Fatal to *Europe* in general, than to *England* in particular. They were sensible that Our Disaster wou'd have broken the Confederacy; and that twou'd have been equally dangerous to the Allies, to conclude a Peace, or continue the War.

These were some of the Reflexions,

ons that were made upon this occasion, by particular Persons, while all, in general, were employ'd in blessing God for their wonderful Preservation, and admiring the adorable Wisdom of Providence, which had not only disappointed the Designs of our Enemies, but so over-rul'd their Malice, that their Projects serv'd only to confirm and strengthen the Union betwixt the King and his People, by the Interest of their mutual Preservation.

But, as our Representatives in Parliament are entrusted with the Management of Public Affairs, and consequently have the deepest Share in the General Concerns of the Nation; so there were none that were more sensibly affected with the Discovery, or made more serious Reflexions upon His Majesty's Speech. For both the Interest and Designs of the Faction are entirely opposite to those of that Illustrious Body: The Former is a Secret Cabal that has been long Contriving our Ruine, and the latter is a Public Council which Studies the Means to preserve us; and therefore 'tis no wonder that there should be such a strong and lasting Antipathy betwixt 'em. Since

Since the Faction endeavor'd to destroy King *James* the I. and his Parliament by the famous Gun-powder Conspiracy, they have been still intent upon the Hellish Design, and forming new Projects to destroy us. 'Tis thought they were active Promoters of the Civil War, which disturb'd the Reign of King *Charles* the First, and was attended with consequences that will for ever be lamented by the Nation. And none but those who are sorry for the bad Success of their Contrivances, will deny, that the Son and immediate Successor of that unfortunate Monarch, was influenc'd by their pernicious Councils; that they made him jealous of his most faithful Subjects, and at last perswaded him to undermine the very Foundations of our Liberty, by destroying the Freedom of Elections, and Governing his People without the Advice of his Parliament. During the late Reign they attack'd us with Authority, and have been ever since endeavoring to regain the Ground they lost by the Revolution. The same Design is still carry'd on, but with this happy difference, that

Loya'ty

Loyalty is become at last the distinguishing Mark of Honest Men; and Traitors to their Country are look'd upon as Traitors to the Government. For, tho Treachery is usually said to be more dangerous than open Violence; yet after all a Wise man wou'd rather chuse, that the Enemies of his Country shou'd be Plotters than Oppressors.

The Faction (which, thanks to Heaven, we can now call, *The Disaffected Party*) cannot endure a Prince, who not only will not help 'em to destroy the Nation, but was the Instrument whom God chose to preserve it; and who, instead of relying upon the Councils and Assistance of the Cabal, makes it his principal care to preserve an entire Confidence and inseparable Union betwixt Him and His Parliament. Lest than this wou'd have been sufficient to make the Faction Dispute his Title; tho the very Hatred of those who Dispute it, may be justly look'd upon as an evident and unexceptionable Confirmation of it.

'Tis to be presum'd that there are a considerable number of Persons engaged.

gag'd in the Party who have Sense enough to perceive, that 'tis impossible to controvert His Majesty's Right to the Crown, without denying us the common and most essential Privileges of a Nation. For unless they pretend, with the most furiously bigotted Papists, that the Consent of the Head of their Church is necessary for the Establishment of the Secular Power, or, suffer themselves to be so miserably deluded by a new sort of Fanaticism as to imagine, that every Race of Kings is establish'd by an immediate Oracle or supernatural Revelation; they cannot refuse to acknowledge that the Safety and Consent of the People were the primitive and most sacred Foundations of Sovereign Authority; and that the unanimous Suffrages of those who thought fit to enter into Societies for their own Preservation, was the Voice of God himself, in the first Establishment of Monarchy.

'Tis an undoubted and a remarkable Truth, that those very persons who are angry with us for assuming a power to secure our Liberty by modifying our Laws, upon so extraordinary

tracordinary an Occasion, pretend a Right to the same Privilege, and have more than once actually made use of it. 'Tis known that the Estates of France regulated the Succession, by

making a far more considerable Alteration in their ancient Laws, than that for which we have been so often reproach'd, in the case of Childeric III. who was succeeded by Pepin, and that tho' Pope Zachary pretend-

ed that this Regulation was made by vertue of his Approbation and Authority, the People of that Kingdom have always refus'd to acknowledge him as the Author

of that important Alteration, and maintain'd that it was made by their own Representatives. This Remark may be further confirm'd by the in-

stance of † Charles of Lorrain, who was † Mezeray af-

dethron'd for the good of the State : † Mezeray af-

|| And 'tis certain that since that time firms that the Consent of the People of France was the best

Title which Hugh Capet, who succeeded Charles, cou'd pretend to his Crown, Abreg. Chron. p. 454.

|| Two Races of Kings have enjoy'd the Crown of France, by Virtue of these Regulations that were made for the good of the State.

The Salic Law which is said to be as ancient as Pharamond, is an undeniable Argument that the French suppos'd their Government to be (as it really was) a Hereditary Monarchy.

* Mezeray says expressly, That if the French had ascrib'd that Regulation to the Pope, they would have discover'd themselves to be ignorant of their own Right, Abreg. Chronol. p. 206.

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the *French* Kings never had, nor have at this day, any Title to the Crown but what is founded on this Establishment; so that since a false Title to a Crown can never be rectify'd by Prescription, 'tis plain that, if King *William* be not our Lawful and Rightful Sovereign, *France* has for several Ages been govern'd by Usurpers.

† He deserves not the Name of an Englishman, who believes, with Father d' Orleans,

That the Power of the *English* Monarchs is originally as absolute and arbitrary as any Power can possibly be; that 'tis founded on a Right of Conquest, which the Con-

queror exercis'd and settl'd in its utmost extent; that, at first, the Parliaments were only Seditious Conventicles, erected upon the occasion of a Successful Revolt of the *English* Nobility, who finding themselves able to prescribe Laws to their Masters, assum'd the Power of granting Subsidies, &c. that afterwards the Kings being oblig'd to call 'em, when they stood in need of Supplies, these Meetings began to be look'd upon as a lawful Senate, and by degrees acquir'd an establish'd Form, and the Authority which they enjoy at present. *History of the Revolutions in England*, Book III. p. 294.

† *England* has been always look'd upon as one of the most considerable Kingdoms in *Europe*; but tho' it were the meanest and most contemptible Nation in the World, it could not be depriv'd of the most ancient and fundamental Privilege of Mankind, I mean that of Self-Preservation. 'Tis true, a People may be Subdu'd and made Slaves by a Victorious Invader; but they can never be robb'd of their natural Right, to endeavor the recovering of their

Liberty.

Liberty. And supposing that this was formerly a Conquer'd Kingdom, tis plain that the Conqueror cou'd not become a Lawful Monarch, but by Treating with the Nation, and preserving its ancient Privileges; since a True King must be the Governor of Subjects, and not of Slaves. 'Twou'd be a direct overturning of the Order of Nature to pretend, with our Enemies, that the 'Sovereign Authority in *England* is originally Arbitrary, and that the People are only Free by Usurpation; since, by the fundamental Constitution of our Government, the People are originally Free, and the Royal Authority Limited.

The *Roman* Catholics were naturally dispos'd to embrace these pernicious Notions: for 'tis one of the Principles of their Religion, that the Pope's Jurisdiction extends over the Temporal Authority of Kings, and the Property of the People; and that those whom he Deposes or Excommunicates, are, *ipso facto*, depriv'd of all their Rights and Privileges. 'Tis true this Opinion has been look'd upon as dangerous, even by the Princes of that Persuasion, who are
not

not willing that their Authority shou'd depend on the Arbitrary Will of One Man. And from thence some have taken occasion to call those *Catholics* who moderate the Power of the See of *Rome*, and only to give the Name of *Papists* to those who require an unlimited Submission to the Pope. But this Distinction was never so generally known or receiv'd in this Kingdom as in other places. For in Popish Countries, 'tis the Interest of the Prince to inspire his People with a less extravagant respect to the Head of their Church: whereas in *England*, where the *Roman Catholics* have neither a Prince nor Magistrate of their Perswasion, they are wholly govern'd by their Directors, and follow all their Maxims, unless they have Sense enough to perceive the dangerous Consequences of these Opinions, or by the Mildness and Integrity of their Temper, are naturally inclin'd to detest such a barbarous and inhumane Doctrin. But, in the general, they are easily perswaded to look upon Protestants as Men that have forfeited all their Privileges, and are already doom'd to Death, for the Crimes of
Heresy

Herefy and Schism, by the repeated Sentences of several Councils. And 'tis plain that those who are possesst with such a Prejudice will never heartily acknowledge the Title of a Protestant Prince; since they reckon our Religion a sufficient ground to deprive a People of the natural Privileges of a Civil Society.

It has been, upon all occasions, the constant Practice of the Faction, to accommodate their Notions to the various Humours and Inclinations of those whom they endeavor to draw into their Party. For as they entertain some of their Profelytes; with Projects to destroy the Liberty and Privileges of the Nation, they insinuate themselves into the good opinion of others, by exclaiming against the Prerogative of the Crown. When they meet with Persons that are fond of a Popular Government. they pretend to be of the same opinion, exasperate their Grievances, and persuade 'em that 'tis the Interest of the Nation to weaken the Power and Authority of the King, that, upon the first occasion, they may be able, with less difficulty, to introduce a Republican Government.

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At

When Father d' Orleans declares against the Republicans, he usually runs to the opposite Extremity, and commends the most pernicious Maxims of Despotic Tyranny; such as Governing without a Parliament is, and will always be Reputed in this Kingdom. See the History of the Revolutions in England, Book II.

At the same time, they make use of other Artifices to delude those who are superstitiously addicted to Monarchy. They exasperate their Zeal, fill their Minds with unreasonable Jealousies, and by scaring 'em with false Alarms of the Progress of the Republican Party, endeavour to secure their Assistance for the Introducing of Arbitrary Power, as the only Way to keep out a Commonwealth. For 'tis their usual custom to tamper with the most violent Persons of all Parties, that, by animating 'em one against another, they may divide the Nation into opposite and irreconcilable Factions.

They labour'd to persuade the World that the late King might justly assume an Arbitrary Power, that he might reign without a Parliament, and absolutely renounce all Contracts with his People. And even after he had deserted the Kingdom, and was declar'd an Enemy to our Laws, Religion and Liberties, by the Representatives of the Nation; they had the confidence to pretend that he was still our Lawful King.

But

But the Artifice was too gross to pass upon a whole Nation: for, in the first place, they must have persuaded us that We were not a People, but a Multitude of Rebels, that had forfeited all our Privileges, that were condemn'd by our Prince, and had neither Laws nor Parliaments to protect us; that, like a company of Robbers who had escap'd the Execution of Justice, we maintain'd our Illegal Possessions by an unjust Force, and had no Title either to our Lives or Estates; that we were Slaves by Law, and Proscrib'd Malefactors, and consequently were in a more wretched Condition, than if we had been actually Conquer'd and Subdu'd.

Blessed be that Almighty Goodness which defeated the Contrivances of our Enemies, and gave us a King, upon whom they cou'd never fasten the least Aspersions, who manages the Reins of Government with an equal and Steddy Hand; who never was, and we have reason to believe, never will be Guilty either of Tyranny or Remissness; who will neither oppress us himself, nor Suffer us to oppress one another; and has always pursu'd

such Maxims as are most agreeable to the admirable Constitution of our Government, which preserves the Just mean betwixt the arbitrary Tyranny of Despotic Power, and the Tumultuary Licentiousness of Anarchy or Democracy; and will neither suffer the Parliament to make Laws without the Authority of the King, nor the King to Govern without the Advice of his Parliament.

But since they cou'd not Debauch the Fidelity of his People, by controverting his Title to the Crown; they made use of that pretext to encourage the desperate Bravo's of the Faction to murder him. They told 'em that they cou'd not be accus'd of conspiring against the Life of a King; * since the Prince of *Orange* had no right to that Title: * And it appears that the same Pretence was alledg'd as one of the Reasons for the design'd Invasion.

* *Capt. Fisher's Deposition.*
† *See the Bishop of Soissons's Order, about the beginning of April.*

The whole Nation was alarm'd with the common Danger, and the Parliament, especially, made serious Reflexions upon the Designs of our Enemies.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses was seconded by Sir *William Trumbal*, who, in a Pathetic Harangue before the House of Commons, acquainted that Illustrious Body with the particular Characters of the Witnesses, the uniformity of their Evidence, and the improbability of their Conspiring together to deceive us; and from all these Considerations concluded that there was never less reason to doubt the Truth of a Conspiracy than of This. Such a discourse as this was very Seasonable, and even necessary at a time, when several Persons were endeavoring to make the whole Discovery pass for a Fiction, either because they imagin'd that the King and Council had been impos'd upon, or perhaps because they wish'd that we had been convinc'd of the reality of the Design by the Execution of it. However, Time and the Confession of the Criminals have stopt the Mouths of those who wou'd have stiff'd the Discovery. And the Parliament, to express their Zeal and Affection, in such a dangerous Juncture, made the following Address to His Majesty, which was presented by both Houses in a Body. N 3 We

WE Tour Majesties most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament Assembl'd, having taken into our Serious Consideration what Tour Majesty has been Pleas'd to Communicate to us this Day, Think it our Duty, in the First Place, to give Tour Majesty most Humble Thanks, for having Acquainted Tour Parliament with the great Danger Tour Sacred Person hath been so nearly Expos'd to, and the Design of an Invasion from our Enemies Abroad; We Heartily Congratulate Tour Majesties Happy Preservation, and Thankfully Acknowledge the Signal Providence of God in it, and at the same time Declare our Detestation and Abhorrence of so Villanous and Barbarous a Design. And since the Safety and Welfare of Tour Majesties Dominions do so entirely Depend upon Tour Life, we most Humbly Beseech Tour Majesty to take more than ordinary Care of Tour Royal Person. And we take this Occasion to Assure your Majesty of our utmost Assistance to Defend Tour Person, and Support Tour Government against the late King James, and all other Tour Enemies both at Home and Abroad;
hereby

hereby Declaring to all the World, That in case Your Majesty shall come to any Violent Death (which God forbid) we will Revenge the same upon all Your Enemies and their Adherents; And, as an Instance of our Zeal for Your Majestys Service, we will give all possible Dispatch to the Public Business. And we make it our Desire to Your Majesty to Seize and Secure all Persons, Horses and Arms, that Your Majesty may think fit to Apprehend upon this Occasion.

His Majesty receiv'd this Address in a very obliging manner, and was pleas'd to return a most gracious Answer in these words.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Thank you heartily for this kind Address; On My Part you may be Assur'd that I will do all that is within My Power for the Preservation of this Kingdom, to which I have so many Obligations; I will readily Venture My Life for Preserving it, and Recommend My Self to the Continuance of Your Loyalty and Good Affections.

At the same time both Houses enter'd into an Association to defend his

Majesty's Life, and to revenge his Death; and, particularly the House of Commons agreed to several important Resolutions. 'Twas order'd, *That leave should be given to bring in a Bill to Impower His Majesty to Secure and Detain such Persons as His Majesty should suspect were Conspiring against His Person or Government: And Resolv'd, That an Humble Address shou'd be presented to His Majesty, that He wou'd please to issue out His Royal Proclamation, to Banish all Papists from the Cities of London and Westminster, and Ten Miles from the same: That all the Members of the House shou'd either sign the Association, or declare their Refusal so to do; and that whosoever shou'd by Writing, or otherwise affirm that the Association was Illegal, shou'd be look'd upon as Promoters of the Designs of the late King and Enemies of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.*

'Twas also Resolv'd nemine contradicente, *that a Bill shou'd be brought in for the better security of his Majesty's Person and Government, with these Clauses. I. That such as shall refuse to take the Oaths to his Majesty, shall be Subject to the Forfeitures and Penalties*

ties of Popish Recusants, Convict.
2. To inflict a Penalty on such as shall by Writing, or otherwise Declare, that King William is not Lawful and Rightful King of these Realms, or that the late King James, or the pretended Prince of Wales, or any other Person, than according to the Act of Settlement of the Crown, has any Right to the Crown of these Realms. 3. To ratify and confirm the Association enter'd into all his Majestys good Subjects, for the Preservation of His Majesty's Person and Government. 4. That no Person shall be capable of any Office of Profit or Trust, Civil or Military, that shall not sign the said Association. And 5. That the same Penalties be inflicted on such as come out of France, as upon those that go thither.

Nor must we forget that wise and important Resolution of the same honorable Body, in pursuance of which 'twas enacted, That whenever it shall please God to afflict these Realms by the Death of His Present Majesty. the Parliament then in being shall not be dissolv'd thereby, but shall continue until the next Heir to the Crown in Succession, according to the late Act of Settlement, shall dissolve the same.

'Twas

'Twas also Order'd, That the Speaker, upon Presenting the Association to His Majesty, shou'd make it the Request of the House, that His Majesty would please to order, that the said Association of the House, and all other Associations by the Commons of England, be lodg'd among the Records in the Tower, to remain as a perpetual Memorial of their Loyalty and Affection to His Majesty.

The Associations of both Houses were almost the same, as to the sense; and therefore I shall content my self with inserting that of the House of Commons, because of its Conformity to the abovemention'd Resolutions,

WHereas there has been a Horrid and Detestable Conspiracy, Formed and Carried on by Papists, and other Wicked and Traiterous Persons, for Assassinating his Majesty's Royal Person, in Order to Incourage an Invasion from France, to Subvert our Religion, Laws, and Liberty: We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, do Humbly, Sincerely, and Solemnly Profess, Testifie and Declare, That his Present Majesty, King William, is Rightful and Lawful King of these Realms. And
we

we do Mutually Promise and Engage to Stand by and Assist each other, to the utmost of our Power, in the Support and Defence of His Majesty's most Sacred Person and Government, against the late King James, and all his Adherents. And in case his Majesty come to any Violent or Untimely Death (which God forbid) We do hereby further Freely and Unanimously Oblige our Selves, to Unite, Associate, and Stand by each other, in Revenging the same upon his Enemies, and their Adherents; and in Supporting and Defending the Succession of the Crown, according to an Act made in the First Year of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary, Intituled, An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settling the Succession of the Crown.

His Majesty receiv'd the Association very graciously, and express'd the Sense he had of the Zeal and Affection of his Subjects in these obliging Terms.

Gen.

Gentlemen,

I Take this as a most Convincing and most Acceptable Evidence of your Affection: And as you have freely Associated your Selves for Our Common Safety, I do Heartily enter into the same Association; and will be always ready with you and the rest of My Good Subjects, to Venture My Life against all who shall endeavour to subvert the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of England.

And afterwards His Majesty was pleas'd to say, *That he would take care, that this, and all other Associations presented to Him, shou'd be Lodg'd among the Records in the Tower.*

While the Parliament was taking such effectual measures for the Security of his Majesty and the Nation; 'twas thought fit, in the most legal and regular manner, to satisfy offended Justice, by the Conviction and Punishment of some of the most notorious Conspirators. 'Twou'd be needless to give the Reader a particular account, either of the Proceedings at the Trials, or of the Behaviour of the

the

the Dying Criminals; since there can be nothing added to the public Relations of the former, and there is nothing remarkable in the latter but Hypocrisy and Passion. This is the genuine Character of the Declarations they left us of their last Thoughts. One of em owns the Crime for which Charnock. he was condemn'd with a kind of impious Ostentation; and yet, in another place of the same Paper, he seems to acknowledge the Infamy of it, by endeavouring to vindicate his Party from having any hand in it. Another, in spite of Nature, would Sir John Freind. act the Part of a Hero, and was not ashamed to pretend that he dy'd a Martyr, tho 'tis plain both by his Conviction and Confession, that his Punishment was the just Reward of his Treasonable Practices to betray the Nation to Papists and Foreigners. One of 'em is angry with the King, Rookwood. because he would not pardon a barbarous Assassin, and was the first Person that ever had the Confidence to charge His Majesty with Cruelty: And another leaves us a terrible In- Cranbourn. stance of the Divine Justice in hardening impenitent Offenders, by ending

ending his Life in a Transport of Fury.

But since nothing can excuse us from doing Justice even to our most barbarous and implacable Enemies, I think my self oblig'd to make a more honorable mention of Sir *William Parkins*. He acknowledges the Assassination to be a Crime, and repents that he was concern'd in it. He seems to have been acted by a mistaken Notion of Honor, and to have aim'd at an Appearance of Magnanimity, which he did not well understand. For he would not be perswaded to name the Complices of his Crime, tho he had some reason to believe, that an ingenuous Confession might have procur'd him a Pardon. A generous Principle, if it had been better plac'd, and if, by preserving his Friends, he had not sav'd the Enemies of his Country.

The Convicted Criminals receiv'd the Sentence and Punishment which the Law appoints for Traitors; and their Quarters were expos'd in the most public places, as a terrible Example of the just Severity of an injur'd Nation, and an Admonition to their Traiterous Friends, that those
who

who are not capable of nobler Sentiments might at least be restrain'd by Fear.

In the mean time the Faction perceiving that all their pernicious Artifices were either discover'd or defeated, resolv'd at least, to pay the last Honors to their expiring Cause. Three *Jacobite* Clergy-men, pretending to be Ministers of the Church of *England*, under pretext of assisting Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkins* at their Death, gave 'em a general Absolution for all their Sins, without obliging 'em either to confess or declare their Abhorrence of the particular Crime for which they suffer'd; and by such an impudent and irregular Action put a public Affront upon the Government and the Nation.

Two of 'em were apprehended in order to be prosecuted for so heinous a Misdemeanor; and, in the mean time, the Church, of which they pretended to be Members condemn'd their Proceedings in a Public Declaration of its Judgment on that occasion, which was sign'd by Fourteen Bishops who were then in Town, and approv'd by those who
were

A Declaration
of the
sense of
Archbishops,
Bishops, &c.

were absent. In that Paper, they declare that they disclaim and detest the Principles and Practices both of the Criminals, and the Three Ministers who assisted 'em; that they disown and abhor 'em, as highly Schismatical and Seditious, dangerous both to the Church and State, &c.

Thus while our Enemies both at home and abroad, were mourning the Fate of their blasted Project, while they suffer'd all the Horrors and Torments of Rage and Despair, the constant Attendants of Disappointed Revenge; we had the pleasure to behold the happy Period of the dismal Tragedy, and the blest Event of the blackest and most barbarous Design that ever was set on foot. We observ'd, with inexpressible satisfaction, that our Almighty Protector had convinc'd our Enemies, by a very unwelcome Experience, of two important Truths, which they cou'd never endure to believe, That His Majesty's Life is necessary for the Preservation of his People; and that his Subjects are inseparably

separably united to him, both by Duty, Interest, and Inclination. This is a glorious Confirmation of the Title which they presume to controvert, and a convincing Proof of the Justice of his Cause, which God himself has vouchsaf'd to establish and confirm, by the execrable Projects that were form'd against him.

The World has been so long accustomed to see his Majesty expose his Life for the Preservation of his Subjects; he has brav'd Death so often, and run thro so many Dangers in our Defence, that it cannot be suppos'd we shou'd be surpriz'd at every new Instance of his Generosity. But that the Preservation of his single Life shou'd secure a whole Nation from impending Ruine; that the Rebels at home durst not attempt to disturb our Quiet, because they knew that he was alive; that our Foreign Enemies shou'd immediately retire upon the News of his Deliverance; that the whole Nation shou'd place their only Confidence in the Person of their Sovcraign, and enter into a solemn and unanimous Confederacy to Defend his Life, and

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Revenge

Revenge his Death, there is something so surprizingly Great in such a Combination of Wonders, and so conspicuous Marks of the *Finger of God* in the several Instances of our Happiness, that 'twou'd be equally impious and absurd, to ascribe our Deliverance to a lucky concurrence of fortuitous Accidents.

As His Majesty's Life is our only Security, and the Foundation of all our Hopes; the happy Union that is now so firmly establish'd betwixt us and our Sovereign, is of no less importance to the rest of *Europe*. To this we owe the advantageous Change in the Posture of Affairs, abroad; 'tis this that has reduc'd our Enemies to more reasonable Terms, and makes way for the Conclusion of a general and solid Peace.

When the long expected Time shall come, that the Just Desires of those who long to see Peace and Tranquility once more establish'd in *Europe* shall be accomplish'd; it will appear, and be acknowledg'd by the grateful World, that as *England* was deliver'd from Slavery and Oppressi-

on,

on, by the Blessing of God upon His Majesty's generous Undertaking, so 'twas *England* that had the greatest share in the general Deliverance of the Christian World.

Time and Experience will ere long convince us of this great and important Truth, and Posterity will for ever acknowledge the Immortal Obligation. And even tho it were possible that future Ages shou'd forget their Great Benefactor, the Benefit will remain, notwithstanding their Ingratitude, as long as there shall be Laws in *England*, or a Free People in *Europe*.

FINIS.